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HISTORY OF MARY STUART.



Marie L

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HISTORY
OF
MARY STUART,
QUEEN OF SCOTS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL AND UNPUBLISHED MS.

OF
PROFESSOR PETIT,

BY
CHARLES DE FLANDRE, F.S.A. Scot.,
PROFESSOR OF FRENCH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN EDINBURGH.

"D'aller faire le neutre ou l'indifférent sous prétexte que j'écris une histoire
serait faire au lecteur une illusion trop grossière." BOSSUET.

"Quand on est malheureux, on n'a pas beaucoup d'amis."
L'IMPÉRATRICE EUGÉNIE.

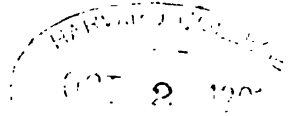
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HISTORY OF MARY STUART.

CHAPTER XX.

1581—1583.

POSITION OF MARY STUART—HER RELATIONS WITH HER SON—SHE CONFERS UPON HIM THE TITLE OF KING—THE DUKE D'ANJOU IN LONDON—AGITATION AMONG THE CLERGY—DEPARTURE OF THE DUKE D'ANJOU—PROJECTS OF LENNOX—STATE OF THE CLERGY IN SCOTLAND—SERMONS OF DURIE—CAPTIVITY OF JAMES VI.—DEFECTION OF THE EARL OF ARRAN—DEPARTURE OF LENNOX—HIS DECLARATION—GRIEF OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS—HER LETTER TO ELIZABETH—FRENCH ENVOYS IN SCOTLAND—BEALE AND MARY STUART—JAMES VI. RECOVERS HIS FREEDOM.

IT is a sad thing to be a prisoner ; but, if imprisonment is irksome to all, it must be a thousand times worse for crowned heads. The fall from a throne to a dungeon is too violent for the poor victim on whom Providence has brought that misfortune to escape unhurt. Mary, however, had borne the disaster with magnanimity, and instead of being lowered, she had risen superior to her fall. If, at times, she uttered a complaint in her distress, ought it to be imputed to her as a fault? Nay, she ought rather to be the more honoured. Complaint is dishonourable only when it is out of place. At any other time, it shows that the victim feels her position, that she suffers and groans : in a word, that she belongs to humanity. If, notwithstanding her tears, she is resigned, respects herself, and admits no baseness, then, there are no terms to qualify, worthily, that heroism of suffering.

I know there are men of hard natures, austere manners, and a language still more austere, who blush to complain. They dream of unusual strength of mind, and Stoic indifference to pain ; they blame mankind for fretting at every ill "that flesh is heir to," and are disgusted with them ; they wish every one to be steeled in good as well as in bad fortune : but I know also that such extravagant firmness exists, as a general rule, only in books. I shall not, therefore, hesitate to describe the last years of Mary Stuart such as they were, and not such as severe and excessive philosophers would have them.

Time had at length softened, for Mary, the horrors of captivity. Deprived of her liberty, she had formed a kind of private life suited to her disposition, as far, at least, as it is possible to reconcile seclusion with the taste for freedom. Her keeper, the Earl of Shrewsbury, a man of uneven temper, had occasional moments of good nature, and Mary gladly received the smallest favours, "taking, as it were, from a bad payer" what she could get.¹ The Earl showed himself as lenient as he could be to the royal captive, and certainly would have done more for her, had he not been surrounded by spies. Years brought about a kind of attachment between the prisoner and the family of the noble gaoler, and from them Mary learned, with sorrow, that she was going to have a different keeper.² She was recovering from sickness, and her health also made her the more dread the change. Affairs in Scotland had irritated Elizabeth, and it was to be feared that, in her anger, she might choose some violent Puritan to replace the Earl of Shrewsbury. Mary, in her uncertainty, wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow, "Remember that in the subscription of my letters, this word *Vostre*, without abbreviation, will imply to you that I shall be in bad and dangerous keeping."³

That anxiety drove away the joy which Mary felt at having received letters and presents from her son. "Madame," wrote the Prince to her, "I have received the ring which it has pleased you to send me; I shall keep it for the honour of you. I send you another, which I, with the greatest humility, entreat you to accept as cordially as I received yours. You have clearly proved to me, by the warnings which it has pleased you to give me in your last letters, how good a mother you are to me. I earnestly entreat you, should you hear anything further, to let me know, so that I may see to it, as best I can. I have already begun to act on your advice, as you may learn from the Earl of Lennox, and I again entreat you to aid me and give me your good counsel and advice, which I will follow; and be assured that in all things which it may please you to command me, you shall ever find me your very obedient Son."⁴

That communication, while suddenly drawing away her thoughts from her afflictions, led them back to Scotland, the land of so many

¹ Mary Stuart to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 2d September 1577.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 394.

² Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—Prince Labanoff, V., 210.

³ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 4th March 1581.—Prince Labanoff, V., 209.

⁴ James VI. to his Mother, 29th January 1581.—State Papers, Mary, Queen of Scots.

crimes and such infamous treasons. Thinking of her poor child, a frail reed reared amid, and tossed by the tempest, she could not help trembling. What could he do—alone, without help, and without advice—on that throne red with the blood of his fathers, in that Scotland, where a crowned head was the fated victim of the sword. Her wish was to be near him, that she might advise and defend him against his rebellious subjects. The words which her maternal lips could not utter, she wrote, that they might be thrown afar. "Several near my son," said she, "will dislike that round of cruelties done to the Kings of Scotland, our predecessors; but I am very anxious that the child should be warned of them, so that he may guard against them, and not trust too much to his own power at home, and neglect to strengthen himself abroad, as he much requires. I know many will oppose that view, wishing always to keep the Prince in such a state that he may depend on them, rather than they on him."¹

Wishing to give further proofs of her affection, she, at the request of the Court of France, granted to the young Prince the title of King, which she had until then refused him, and which he himself considered as null and void.² Nay more, heroically forgetting her position, and showing a self-denial which cannot be too much admired, she advised her son to live on good terms with Elizabeth, at the very time when that Queen was openly plotting her death, and seeking to corrupt the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Arran in Scotland.³

In the month of April, a French embassy came in great state to London, to ask the hand of Elizabeth. It was greeted with loud cheers by the people and by the nobles. Boats, splendidly decorated, went, as far as the mouth of the Thames, to meet the diplomatists. There were rejoicings throughout England, and London threw off its cold and dull nature to give way to the most noisy enthusiasm. Gradually, as the embassy advanced, there was loud shouting, drowned, at intervals, by the roar of the Tower guns. That gorgeous reception made the French envoys look forward to a full and definite success, which was not to be realised.

The Duke d'Anjou, busy fighting in Flanders, could not reach London till seven months later. He met with the warmest of welcomes,

¹ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 21st May, 1581.—Prince Labanoff, V., 235.

² Various State Papers and Letters.—Teu-

let, III., 114, 120, 148; Prince Labanoff, V., 256, 303.

³ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow and James VI.—Prince Labanoff, V., 254, 259, 293.

and, thanks to his presence, matters seemed to go on favourably. In the month of November, the twenty-third anniversary of Elizabeth's accession, there were great festivities at the Palace. The foreign ambassadors had been invited, and the nobles, who had come from all parts of England, thronged around their sovereign. The Duke d'Anjou appeared in the first rank with a double glory: his laurels and the Queen's regard. A new distinction was reserved for him; Elizabeth, advancing towards him with a smile upon her lips, put a ring upon his finger, saying, "This is the pledge of our marriage;" and on the day after, she made the Bishop of Lincoln, the Earls of Sussex, Bedford and Leicester, Walsingham and Hatton, sign an act settling the contract and the rites to be observed in the ceremony.¹

Such an event produced a sensation: Castelnau sent particulars to Henry III., and Mendoza to Philip II., and the Flemings, informed by Saint-Aldegonde, gave themselves up to wonderful demonstrations of joy. Churchmen alone were displeased with that union; in France the marriage was looked upon as a *mésalliance*, in England it was blamed as prejudicial to the word of God, to the Queen, and the country. Clamours resounded far and wide. A work written by the hand of a Puritan attracted notice in the midst of that fanaticism owing to the forcible suggestions of its apostrophes, and the insolence of its aim. The title alone, written with a pomposity which shows a mind radically false, was a threat. In the body of the work, the author inveighed with surprising boldness against the ministers, the Queen, and the Duke d'Anjou; the ministers were worthless and ambitious, men of low degree, who ranked their fortune above their God; the Queen a degenerate woman; the Duke d'Anjou a faithless, lawless scoundrel; the writer sought to put an end to the sacrilegious alliance arranged between the daughter of God and the son of the devil.

Elizabeth had, till then, borne invectives without saying a word, hoping that weariness, if not good sense, would make the preachers silent, but, seeing their boldness increase, she resolved to curb, by punishment, those upon whom her forbearance had no effect. The writer was brought before the judges, and condemned to lose his right hand. It was cut off in the market-place at Westminster. Scarcely was the sentence carried out when the author, Stubbs, brought back by the operation to more moderate sentiments, seized his hat with his left hand, and waved it above his head, crying, "God save the Queen."²

¹ Daniel, *Histoire de France*, IX., 140.

² Camden, III., 346; Harington, *Nugæ Antiquæ*, I., 143-158.

Amid all those festivities Elizabeth did not find so much pleasure as one might be led to suppose. Her ambition battled with her heart. She could not look at the Duke d'Anjou without loving him, and she could not love him without thinking of her own liberty. Sleep had forsaken her; pleasures wearied her, and she sought for loneliness. She felt a great loathing at heart; the presence of the young Duke consoled her for a time, then she fell back into the same sadness and lowness of spirits. Her favourites, jealous of the Duke's influence, watched the course of events, and resolved to break off the much-wished-for match.

As Elizabeth, more careworn than usual, was one evening regaining her room, she was followed by her ladies in tears. They entreated her, on their knees, to renounce the marriage, urging the inconvenience of taking so young a husband; the uncertainty of issue, and consequently the needlessness of the marriage; her dangers, if she should have children; in short, they entreated her not to stain her good name by taking a Papist husband. Elizabeth could not resist such arguments; she appreciated those weighty remarks of her ladies, and felt sorry at having gone so far as to become engaged. She sent for the Duke, and in the saddest tone confided her feelings to him amid a flood of tears. "Two nights like the last," said she, "and Elizabeth must be no more, and the tomb her wedding bed." She had spent last night in the most frightful agitation, a prey in turns to inclination and duty; she had given him her heart, and would give it him again without regret; she would gladly have been his wife, but for the obstinate resistance of her people, misled by prejudice; but, in the face of the general displeasure, she did not hesitate, though with regret, to sacrifice her inclination and herself, even, for the good of her subjects.

Amazed at words so unexpected, the Duke knew not what to answer; he withdrew, and, flinging away the ring which Elizabeth had given him, exclaimed that the women of Albion were as changeable and capricious as the waves which washed their shores.¹

After that discomfiture, the Duke d'Anjou ought to have left England for the Continent, as it was clear that the wedding could not now come off. He asked the Queen's leave to depart: the request was received with tears. Elizabeth brought forward endless good reasons to convince the Duke that he was wrong to go; that the marriage was not so hopeless, and that time would remove all obstacles. The

¹ Daniel, *Histoire de France*, IX., 140, 141; *Mémoires du Duc de Nevers*, I., 552, sq. not say for a Queen, but for any woman who has any self-respect.—Camden, III., 343. There are, in that work, things shameful, I do

chicken-hearted Duke allowed himself to be persuaded, and renewed his addresses, to the eternal shame of his memory. It was seen to be unbecoming for a prince of the blood, forgetful of his glory and self-respect, recklessly to make himself the favourite of a Queen much older than he, and boldly play a part abandoned by Leicester, and a role which one named Hatton, a frequenter of masked balls, still disputed with him.¹

Festivities, tournaments, shameful days, and abominable evenings and nights detained the Duke three months longer than he expected.² At length, pleasures lost their power, intimacy its charm, and the Duke, who fancied himself a hero, noticed, with a mute despair, that he was merely ridiculous. To excuse his departure, he urged that affairs in Belgium required his presence. Elizabeth saw him as far as Canterbury, and there the two lovers parted, sick at heart. Left alone, the Queen of England only grew fonder; the remembrance of her past happiness changed her former enjoyments into the keenest pangs. She quitted Whitehall, where everything reminded her of the Duke, and went to lead elsewhere a more retired life.

Except his shame, the Duke d'Anjou reaped absolutely nothing from his stay in London. The Catholics had hoped that his presence might bring them good luck: they were put to death, as it were, even before his eyes.³

Mary Stuart expected a word in her favour, but no notice was taken of her. The Court of France, intentionally heedless, owing to the projected alliance, left her to her fate. The Duke de Guise was now the only person in France who still took an interest in the widow of Francis II.; hand in hand with the Court of Spain, and the Order of the Jesuits, which might be reckoned another power, he endeavoured to raise Scotland, and, with the same blow, overthrow England.⁴ The

¹ Murdin's Papers, 559; Naunton's Queen Elizabeth, 77.

² Mémoires du Duc de Nevers, I., 555, sq.; Murdin's Papers, 558; H. Campbell, Case of Mary, Q. of Scots, 299, sq.

³ Smolett's History of England, book v., chap. vii., No. 41.—"Les Catholiques ont este persécutez et les prestres plus cruellement que les martirs au temps passé, mais ils n'estiment la mort difficile quand ilz la souffrent pour l'honneur de Dieu et de son Eglise, et tant s'en fault que leur sang épouvente les autres Catholicques, qu'ilz croissent et multi-

et sy les jeunes de XX, XVIII., et XXV. ans se nourrissent aujourd'hui en ce royaume pour estre Catholicques, ce qui estonne fort les Puritains et autres qui ont leur passion plus grande que leur religion. Les pauvres Catholicques se fient plus à Dieu que aux rois et princes de la terre; s'ilz avoient ung chef ilz remuroient bien du mesnage."—Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 26th July 1582; Teulet, III., 131.

⁴ Various State Papers.—Teulet, V., 235, sq., 244, 247, sq., 255; Prince Labanoff, VII., 156, 183, sq.

Duke of Lennox¹ was on the spot ready to fight. He received encouragement through one Paul, an envoy of the Duke de Guise, who kept in the dark his title and mission by bringing over choice horses to the young King.² A conspiracy was being formed anew, and the project, so often started, of invading England was again freely spoken of. Lennox wrote about it to Mary Stuart to obtain her consent, by pointing out the advantages of the expedition; among others, the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in England, her release from prison, and the maintenance of her rights to the throne.³ For a long time Mary had trusted to that pleasing dream, but she had awakened to reality; and now she lent only an absent attention to the plan which was submitted to her, and sent a cold and measured reply, in which neither Catholicism for England, liberty for herself, nor her rights to the throne were mentioned.⁴

Lennox himself, owing to unexpected difficulties, found it impossible to act, and that new project failed like the rest.

The Scottish clergy, moulded by Knox, had from the outset shown an instinctive hatred of all authority. The founder had proclaimed the equality of ministers; the name of *Presbyterians* announced a democratic church, where the Episcopacy was not recognised.⁵ The bishoprics had not, however, been destroyed: Morton had opposed that; and those around the young King, after the example of the last Regent, supported the bishops, and loaded them with honours. Morton defended the Episcopacy to gain friends; Lennox, in the hope of re-establishing Catholicism. The preservation of the bishoprics aided his work; he had only to replace the bishops thrust in illegally, by Catholic bishops, to convert the kingdom, without any great blow.

The appointment of Montgomery, Protestant minister of Stirling, to the Archbishopric of Glasgow, made the long pent-up anger of the Presbyterians break forth. They flew to a thousand excesses disgraceful to men, and ended by excommunicating the new bishop, heedless of the King's prayers and threats. A solemn fast was ordered in view of the dangers which the Prince ran from the corrupt men about his

¹ The Earl of Lennox was created a Duke on the 15th August 1581.—Moyse's Memoirs, 56.

² Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 6th July 1582.—Teulet, III., 126.

³ D'Aubigny to Mary Stuart, 7th March 1582.—Teulet, V., 237, 238.

⁴ Mary Stuart to Mendoza, 8th April.—Lettres de Marie Stuart, Teulet, 311, sq.

⁵ "The Power and Authoritie of all Pastors is equal, and alike great among themselves. The name of *Bishop* is relative to the Flock, and not to the Eldership; for he is Bishop of his Flock, and not of other Pastors or fellow Elders: as for pre-eminence, that one beareth over the rest, it is the Invention of man, and not the Institution of Holy Writ."—Calderwood, The History of the Church of Scotland, 94.

person.¹ The Bible, so fruitful in tragic examples, roused the Presbyterian furies; sermons afforded them the means to utter them; all Scotland shuddered when she heard again the bold accents of the Reformer in the harangues of Durie. The turbulent ministers carried what they called their zeal, and what others called their insolence, even to cursing the Court in presence of the King and those around him.² An order from the King enjoined them to keep silence; they preferred to go into England. Durie, forced to depart, assembled the people at the Cross of Edinburgh, and addressed them, a last time, with extraordinary vehemence. Those who remained in town kept up the disorder, and, frightened by the threats of the Sectaries, feared great judgments from heaven.

The vanquished party strove to regain strength by leaning on England. Enmities brought forth cabals, and cabals a conspiracy, which Elizabeth covertly encouraged.³ The Earls of Mar and Glencairn, Lord Ruthven (newly created Earl of Gowrie), Lord Boyd, Oliphant, and some others undertook to seize the young King, the more easily to thwart the favourites.⁴

On the 22d of August James left Athole, where he had been hunting, for Edinburgh. The Earl of Gowrie, informed of his journey, begged the Prince to make a halt at Ruthven Castle. The young King guilelessly accepted the invitation, hoping to find there new pleasures. Those who had a hand in the conspiracy were warned by the Earl, and arrived one after the other; the small escort of the King was dispersed, and he soon found himself surrounded by unusual followers: he was a prisoner. He did not, however, know, as yet, how unfortunate he was. He learned the fact of his misfortune only on the next day. On the previous evening he had spoken of a walk; no one had dared to contradict him; but when he was about to start, he met with resistance, and had to listen to bitter words against his favourites. James bore them manfully enough, and prepared to go out, when his governor, Glamis, caught him by the arm. Seeing the uselessness of his complaints and threats, the prisoner, as yet a novice in misfortune, withdrew weeping: "Fie! for shame," said his cruel governor; "tears suit children, not men."⁵

¹ Spottiswoode, II., 281-289; Calderwood, 121, sq. et passim.

² Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King.—Teulet, III., 126. M. Chéruel, *Marie Stuart et Catherine de Médicis*, 230-232.

³ Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 26th July 1582.—Teulet, III., 127.

⁴ Sir J. Balfour has given in his "*Annales of Scotland*," I., 375, the names of the lords who acted for or against the King.

⁵ Various State Papers.—Teulet, III., 134; V., 258. Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 10th September.—Prince Labanoff, V., 309; Robertson's *History of Scotland*, II., 90.

The Earl of Arran, seeing that matters went badly for the Duke of Lennox, made it his duty to accuse him, to maintain his own credit.¹ That shameful manœuvre was so much the more sure of success as Elizabeth, out of hatred to d'Aubigny, supported the opposite side.² Lennox soon noticed the ill-will which the conspirators bore him. In the first place, a decree, wrung from the King, and proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh, forbade anyone, under very severe penalties, "to publish or say that the King was a prisoner or detained against his will, but it was to be stated, on the contrary, that he felt at great rest and in perfect freedom with his good subjects."³ That decree made the conspirators masters of the situation. Another document, also obtained by violence, enjoined the Duke to "leave the kingdom" before the 20th of September, and hand over the castles of Dunbarton and Blackness to those who should come to ask them in the King's name.⁴

The kingdom was in a turmoil. The words of the King were so precise, that they clearly expressed the will of the conspirators rather than that of the Sovereign.⁵ Lennox resisted boldly, and, for the disinterestedness of his conduct, was universally admired. The nobles, still faithful to their King, stood steadfastly by him; those were the Earls of Huntly, Crawford, Argyll, Sutherland and Caithness, and many other lords who preferred danger to dishonour and treason.⁶

The conspirators opposed audacity to right, and violence to justice. Lennox flattered himself that he might soon take the field, or, at least, wait in Edinburgh for an opportunity to act. The Provost dissuaded him from it, telling him that, considering the state of matters, to stay in Edinburgh might be fatal to him. Lennox yielded, though with regret, to the wise advice of the Provost. He bade farewell to the people, assuring them that he had come to Scotland only to save the Prince, and bring back to the country peace, a stranger to it for many a day. Those words drew tears. On seeing the Duke depart, the inhabitants of Edinburgh feared they were again about to fall under the violent

¹ Castelnau de Mauvissière to Catherine de Médicis, 13th September.—Teulet, III., 138.

² Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 13th September.—Teulet, III., 139.

³ The same letter, 140.

⁴ Walsingham to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 14th September.—Teulet, III., 142, 143; Marioreybanks, 33.

⁵ "El duke de Lenos me ha scripto y asegurado que mi higo, no obstante su detencion, persiste constantissimamente en lo que deve

para conmigo; favorece tanto como siempre, sotomano, el dicho de Lenos y todos los de la buena parte; aborrece extremamente Rutwen y otros que le detienen; y esta resuelto de escaparseles por todos los medios que pudiere." Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 18th November.—Archives de l'Empire; Fonds de Simancas; Letter annexed to a despatch of Tassis to Philip II., Liasse B. No. 178.

⁶ Marioreybanks, *Annals*, 35.

rule of the Regent Morton's friends; hope died, or gave way to anxiety and fear. The nobility gave him an escort of honour on leaving the town; and as he was about to leave them, Lennox begged them to stand by the King; and, having got them to promise that, he spurred his horse, and went by night from Edinburgh to Dunbarton.¹

The rebels, on their side, were not idle; at first they used all their influence to bring discredit upon Lennox. After doing so, they took the King to Holyrood. In all their efforts they strove to gain the sympathy of the people and get followers in all classes of society. The support of England was no longer doubtful. Sir George Carey and Sir Robert Bowes had been sent to Scotland to add fuel to the flame; but Lennox retained his influence over the masses. The gentleness of his disposition, his discretion and politeness, had made for him firm friends; his liberality and affability had gained for him the love of the people. The conspirators, resolved to brand his reputation thoroughly, had already attacked it by declamations, partial and incoherent, and consequently worthless. A very lengthy manifesto, skilfully drawn out, was issued and distributed throughout Scotland. It deplored in high-flowing words the frightful state to which Lennox had brought the country; the Church violated, the nobility despised, and the people trodden under foot by an unworthy favourite. They charged him with incapacity, insolence and treason, and called him the scourge of the Church and State, while they heaped upon him the most unjust reproaches. They did not stop at that. Lest the people should, notwithstanding the manifesto, go on loving the Duke, the seditious appealed to the assembly of the clergy, and obtained an act, setting forth that they had done what was pleasing to God, advantageous to the Sovereign, and useful to the country. Nay more, those honest slanderers summoned, in the name of heaven, all Protestants to lend them assistance, and ordered the ministers to make the manifesto the subject of their sermons, and to threaten, with the censure of the Church, those who, from an inconceivable stubbornness, should oppose the furthering of the good cause.²

Soon after, they made the King sign "Letters of Remission," masterpieces of stupidity, in which the feeble Prince, obliged to proclaim the good offices of his gaolers, called them his "good subjects and very affectionate servants."³

¹ Castelnau de Mauvissière to Catherine de Médicis, 18th September.—Teulet, III., 147.

² Sanderson's History, 98; Robertson, II., 93.

³ Letters of Remission for the Earls of Gowrie, etc.—Teulet, III., 157.

The Duke of Lennox had kept in the background as much as he could. Before leaving Edinburgh he had not said a word of the seditious; but as the boldness of his enemies grew in proportion to his silence, he thought he could no longer hold his tongue. He repelled the manifesto, turned their own words against the accusers, and offered to justify himself before the King and the assembled States. His enemies, to crush him the more easily, refused to hold conference with him.¹ The Duke appealed to public opinion, and took his revenge by publishing his "Declaration." "I have made public this declaration of my innocence," said he, "so that all may know that I have been blamed wrongly and without cause."² His innocence was acknowledged by the greater number; but the reign of violence was not over. Lennox might also have overcome his adversaries by force of arms;³ but he drew back from those extreme measures, unwilling that blood should be spilt in his quarrel. He chose to dwell in France until the public mind should calm down; there he died, and his memory, honoured by the King, was long dear to Scotland.⁴

No one felt what had just happened more than the Queen of Scots. A prisoner, harshly treated, hoping all from Elizabeth's good will, fearing all from her anger, with a past full of sadness, a gloomy present, and a future full of doubts,—she knew how odious was a prison, and how much a prisoner was to be pitied. Her griefs were made more poignant by the circumstances: the Prince was young, without experience, unable to bear his misfortune nobly,—and moreover, he was in the hands of his family's deadly enemies, of those who had ruined his mother, and had brought upon her all her ills. How could he live among those rebels, in whose eyes nothing is sacred; would they respect his quality, or by a crime of which hearts, shut to all save ambition, can alone be guilty, might they not go the length of laying snares for his innocence, that they might live more easily under a prince given up to effeminacy. And who knew but the thirst for power might urge those greedy men to take his life and seize her throne?⁵ Those distressing reflections, which the doings of the victorious party authorised

¹ The Duke of Lennox to the Earl of Argyll, 20th September.—In the Letters of the Argyll Family, 22 sq.

² Déclaration du Duc de Lenox contre les faulces calomnies, etc.—Teulet, III., 152-154.

³ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 18th Nov.—Archives de l'Empire, Fonds de Simancas, Liasse B., No. 178.

⁴ Robertson's History of Scotland, II., 94, 95.

⁵ Those reflections are not imaginary. The wife of the Earl of Arran wished, by aiming at adultery with James, to establish the influence of her husband, etc. Mary Stuart was informed that they wished to poison her son.—Prince Labanoff, V., 304.

unfortunately too much, awakened in Mary's heart many a bitter pang, and that Queen, who during long years had stood firm against threats with unbending brow, broke down on receiving the news of her son's captivity. "The Queen of Scots," said Castelnau, "has just now written to me in cypher, with sorrow and sadness such, she says, as she never had."¹ Sweet creature, besides her own sorrows, she had to bear up against those anxieties so heart-rending to a mother, which made her more heavenly and more worthy of admiration. Her own misfortune was not enough; she was destined to suffer for two, and her son's fate affected her more than her own already long captivity. Elizabeth all that time had the fiendish cruelty to add to Mary's sad loneliness by taking from her the little liberty left her, and debarring her from all correspondence with Scotland.*

That wanton outrage suddenly roused courage in the captive's heart, nigh broken by the son's sad lot. Pride buoyed her up, and she wrote to Elizabeth a letter, thought by all a masterpiece. It was to this effect: "Madam, the conspiracies last hatched in Scotland against my poor child make it my duty to speak. I know by experience how great misfortune may be; and so I tremble for my son, and dread the consequences. In presence of such a disaster, I shall then not hesitate to employ the little strength which is left me to complain and protest. May this letter convince you of my innocence, and serve to justify me in the eyes of posterity by showing the unseemly treatment which I have had to bear.

"I have often protested—I have long proclaimed the sincerity of my conduct; violence has helped my enemies; from this time forth I appeal not to men, but to the living God. It is for Him to judge betwixt us; and forget not, Madam, that the policy of the world does not deceive Him, when it might deceive even the universe. I affirm then, before that great God, that spies have gone in your name into Scotland to corrupt my subjects, arouse them against me, and drive them to all excesses, even to assassinate me. My witnesses are not your enemies; they are your agents.

"You remember, Madam, that at Lochleven, Throckmorton conveyed to me your advice to sign my abdication, hinting that it was null and void at law, having been wrung from me; I did so: Europe looked upon it as null and void, England alone as valid. Much more, England

¹ Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 13th September.—Teulet, III., 142.

8th October.—Prince Labanoff, V., 313. Castelnau de Mauvissière to Catherine de Médicis,

² Mary Stuart to Castelnau de Mauvissière,

28th September.—Teulet, III., 151.

has openly aided the rebels. I pray you, madame, would you put up with such licence and such power on the part of your subjects? After that truly noble deed, they held my son to be a lawful sovereign as long as he was a child; now that he is grown, and that I have given him the title of King, they have robbed him of liberty, power, and royalty; they may perhaps go even further, unless God see to it.

"Escaped from Lochleven, and on the eve of battle, I sent you the ring you one day gave me as a pledge of alliance, when you promised to aid me in case of need: the battle is fought, the battle is lost; and when, trusting to your word, I come to seek shelter in your land, I am arrested, surrounded by guards, shut up in strong places, and, in short, to the contempt of all rights, thrown into this prison where I still languish dying, after having already died a thousand deaths.

"I know you will fall back upon what took place between the Duke of Norfolk and me. I stand by what I have said: that contract could not have been hurtful to you, concluded, as it was, by the first Lords of the Council, and on the express condition of your approval.

"The York Conferences seemed for a moment to improve matters: *my innocence was acknowledged*;¹ the chief Scottish lords, rueing their acts, again drew near to their Queen, alas! for their ruin: the one died by poison, the other on the scaffold, after I had made them twice lay down their arms at your request.

"As regards my captivity, I had imagined that my patience would get the better of my enemies. I have shut myself up, have done away with the surroundings due to my rank, and have even abstained from writing to my son, who was taught to despise his mother:² all in vain.

"I have tried to treat with the English commissioners sent to me, and have made them the most advantageous proposals, hoping thereby to establish peace between the two kingdoms. What was the result? My good intentions were scorned, my sincerity slighted and spurned, and my affairs brought to ruin: in a word, I was worse treated after than before: my enemies, mistaking my patience for faint-heartedness, thought they had a right to treat me, not as a prisoner, but as a slave over whom they had power of life and death.

"I cannot bear, Madam, those indignities any longer: if I am to

¹ "La vérité estant apparue des impostures qu'on semoit de moy, par la Conférence à la quelle je me soubmis volontairement en ce pays." Original. The importance of that

passage addressed to Elizabeth will escape no one.

² Prince Labanoff, III., 127; M. Wiesener, 510.

die, I must know the seekers of my death; if I am to live, those slanders and cruelties must end. Inquire, then, and hear my defence: if I am guilty, I shall undergo my penalty; if I am innocent and you detain me, you are guilty in the eyes of God and man.

"The vilest criminals who groan and weep themselves away in your prisons are allowed to speak in their defence. Why should it be otherwise with me, a Sovereign Princess, your nearest kinswoman and lawful heiress. I know it is exactly that title which excites their hatred; but, alas! it is now more cruel than ever in them to persecute me, for the only kingdom that I look forward to is the kingdom of my God. All my happiness is wrapped up in my son, whom traitors, hounded on and backed by you, worry to the bitter end, and I cannot move to help him. You thus work out sad masterpieces, Madam; and I beg of you no longer to use such means or persons. Moreover, I declare to you that I shall disown and deem as null and void all that my son may do, in writing or speech, while he is kept a prisoner.

"It may so happen that the freedom of my language may offend you, Madam: I have said nought but the truth; and I entreat you, by the dolorous Passion of our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, to let me withdraw from this kingdom, that I may pass my last days in prayer.

"Lay down what conditions you will, take such sureties as you may think fit, only give me freedom. What avails it to confine, till death bring release, between four walls, my poor languishing body? Torments are useless: you know that those of my rank and disposition do not allow themselves to be cast down by any rigour. The prison in which you unjustly keep me has already destroyed my body; it is likely that the end of my sorrows is drawing near, and that my enemies will not have the pleasure of tormenting me much longer; but I have yet a soul, and that soul you cannot imprison. Leave it, then, free to look to its salvation, which is its only care. What satisfaction, what honour, or what advantage can you derive from seeing me crushed at your feet under the heel of those who hate me? If, on the contrary, you free me, though it be perhaps too late, my friends shall be your friends, and my poor child shall be your child. Grant me that grace; it can come from you alone, and it is from you alone that I seek it.

"Meanwhile, grant me at least that I may have a priest to prepare me for death, which draws nearer every day; that is a favour you would not refuse the meanest creature in your kingdom. Let me also have two chamber-women to nurse me when ill; I assure you, before God,

that I need them ; grant them to me in honour of God, and suffer not that my enemies should persecute me to the very end. I am reproached with having given to my son the title of King of Scotland ; but that cannot hinder you, as in doing so, I have only obeyed the King of France and the Queen-mother, whose wishes I made known to you. Nothing has been done to your prejudice ; I assert it on my honour.

"Take then in hand, Madam, the interests of those who touch you so closely both by heart and by blood : search your inmost thoughts, and follow the dictates of your good nature ; let me not take with me to the grave the remembrance of the wrongs which you have done or allowed to be done to me, and lay them before God."¹

That magnificent letter puzzled Elizabeth more than it moved her ; and that Princess, with a heart full of cruelty, went on, none the less, with her persecution. The future and God made but a slight impression on a woman accustomed to enjoy the present, heedless of an uncertain future and a God, whose laws she trampled under foot—whose existence she perhaps even disowned.

France was showing herself more friendly ; her ambassadors had ever willingly lent a hand to Mary's secret correspondence, and, following the King's example, had helped her with their influence.² It was no Frenchman's fault that his former Queen was not free. Tired of interceding for the mother, France, were it only to save the remains of French influence in Scotland, had transferred to the son a part of the interest which had been so uselessly, alas ! shown to the luckless captive. The sudden imprisonment of the young Prince had roused anew old alarms and affections. Henry III. made up his mind to send to Scotland, la Mothe Fénelon and the Sieur de Meyneville, to aid the King with their counsels, and assist him in regaining his freedom.³ The French diplomatists could not reach Scotland without being dogged by Davison, an English spy, charged to watch them, and to take down, piece by piece, the framework of their irksome negotiations.

Notwithstanding the wonderful prudence of la Mothe Fénelon, and his conciliatory words to the nobility, none of the good hoped for, resulted. The lords, who had made themselves masters of the King, had acted with thorough deceit ; outwardly they paid him great honours, and made him sit in their assemblies with the state of an

¹ Abridged from the original published by Prince Labanoff, V., 318-338.

² Various State Papers, Teulet, III., 160-167.

³ Charles IX. to Castelnau de Mauvissière. —Teulet, III., 165, 169. Instruction given to the Sieur de Meyneville, *ibidem*, 171-176 Bannat. Miscell., I., 75-78.

autocrat; but the young Prince, a powerless idol brought up by greedy hands, enjoyed only the semblance of royalty; his will and his anger were alike unheeded. That strange state of things, together with the declarations extorted from the young King, led most of the Scots to believe that he was free;¹ and that was the first and greatest difficulty the French ambassadors had to meet. The other arose from the resistance of the clergy. The ministers declaimed publicly against the Court of France, the house of Guise, and the envoys and their mission, with a rage so astonishing, that the Protestant historians themselves are scandalised at it.² Fénelon, to save his honour and escape from the unworthy Davison, who would never let him have freedom of action, withdrew, handing over to de Meyneville, who was less skilful but less odious than he, the task of upholding the interests of France in Scotland. That toilsome negotiation benefitted only Scottish trade, and its success was more ridiculous than would have been a failure.³

The great secret of Elizabeth's policy was to fathom the aims and views of other nations, and work against them, while she always kept her own plans inscrutable. She entered upon conferences, put forward certain plans, and while the attention of the people was called away by those pretexts, went on darkly, and surely gained her ends.

She had long wished to get Mary out of the way; but Scotland gave her too much uneasiness to attempt an act of so great importance. She preferred to enter into relations with the prisoner, proposing to associate her with her son and restore her to liberty.⁴ To bring that about, she chose the man best suited to make it fail. Councillor Beale, a man of a wild disposition and gloomy nature, undertook that transaction which, as had been foreseen, failed;⁵ but while the news of the intended arrangement between the two Queens was talked about, Walsingham was intriguing hard with Colvill and the wretch, James Stuart, who, in return for the title of Earl given him by his King, only threw that same King, bound hand and foot, under the tutelage of England, and made worse the captivity of his mother.⁶

¹ Melville's *Memoirs*, 282.

² Robertson's *History*, II., 97. "The ministers declaimed bitterly against them in their sermons; especially against La Motte, who, being a Knight of the order of St Esprit, did wear the badge of a white cross upon his shoulder. This they called 'the badge of Antichrist,' and him 'the ambassador of the bloody murderer,' meaning the Duke of Guise,

who, they said, procured him to be sent hither."—Spottiswoode, II., 297.

³ Various State Papers, Teulet, III., 196, 200, 213; Moyse's *Memoirs*, 75-77.

⁴ Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 16th May 1583.—Teulet, III., 203.

⁵ Camden, III., 359, 360.

⁶ Various State Papers; Teulet, III., 207-221; Prince Labanoff, V., 350; M. Chéruel, 241;

The young King, meanwhile, was getting tired of his position, for, though he seemed satisfied with the conduct of the nobles, he could not, at heart, forgive them for keeping him in prison. He communicated his feelings to several men of trust, gained even Gowrie over, and set about regaining his liberty. The assembly of the States, convoked at St Andrews, marvellously served him to gain his ends. On the 27th of June (new style 7th July) under the pretence of presiding over the States, nothing betraying his thoughts, he repaired to the Castle where his partisans, anticipating the hour, had assembled; there, supported by the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Crawford and Rothes, he arrested his enemies one by one, as they came, and, with a rare good fortune, recovered the freedom lost by a surprise. On the next day he published a general amnesty, and paid a visit to the Earl of Gowrie in the famous Ruthven Castle, where he had been arrested. That truly royal conduct gained him the hearts of his people. All in Scotland admired the cleverness of the young King, and were moved by his magnanimity.¹

Melville's Memoirs, 283. The truth, which I carefully give entire to the reader, be his religion what it may, compels me to say, that if Elizabeth behaved badly to Mary Stuart, the Catholics of France behaved still worse to the Queen of England, and that, at the time now reached, the Duke de Guise thought of

having her assassinated.—Cf. Teulet, V., 276, 281, 329.

¹ Letter from a Scottish lord to M. de Meyneville.—Teulet, V. 298, sq.; Spottiswoode, II., 300, sq. Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King.—Teulet, III., 227; Prince Labanoff, V., 347, 348.

CHAPTER XXI.

1583—1585.

SLANDER AGAINST MARY—LETTERS FROM MARY TO MADEMOISELLE DE PIERREPONT AND TO MADEMOISELLE DE MAUVISSIÈRE—NEGOTIATIONS WITH SCOTLAND—CONSPIRACIES AGAINST ENGLAND—SOMERVILLE—THROCKMORTON—DEPARTURE OF MENDOÇA—SYSTEM OF CORRUPTION MADE USE OF BY ELIZABETH—STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND—CONSPIRACY—ITS FAILURE—CONDEMNATION OF GOWRIE—ANGUS, MAR AND GLAMMIS GUILTY OF TREASON—DAVISON IN SCOTLAND—MARY STUART'S ADVICE TO HER SON—SHREWSBURY REMOVED FROM MARY—ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND—NAU AND GRAY IN LONDON—CREIGHTON AND ABDY—ASSOCIATION TO PROTECT THE LIFE OF ELIZABETH—PARRY—MARY STUART TAKES PART IN THE ASSOCIATION—LETTERS OF THE CATHOLICS TO ELIZABETH—PERSECUTION—MARY AT TUTBURY—HER SUFFERINGS—MARY AND HER SON—HORRORS OF HER NEW PRISON—HER KEEPER SIR AMYAS PAULET—RESTRICTIONS PUT UPON HER FREEDOM—REPORT OF HER ESCAPE—TERRIBLE WORDS OF HER KEEPER.

MARY had suffered much since the beginning of her imprisonment, but, though a captive, her reputation at least was spotless, and the infamous pamphlets printed in Scotland to brand her name had respected her misfortune. That new trial was soon to be felt by the prisoner as it had been by the Queen. Elizabeth, after having unsuccessfully tried to dishonour her in the eyes of the world, encouraged slander.¹ In a moment of spite the Countess of Shrewsbury forgot herself so far as to spread odious reports about a great familiarity betwixt Mary and the Earl, and those rumours, thanks to the high favour shown them, gained such belief, that Mary at once lost her reputation.² When she heard of them, she wrote to the ambassador of France, to Walsingham, and to Elizabeth herself, to obtain satisfaction, asserting that they were "wicked reports,"³ "a false and miserable imposture,"⁴ appealing to good sense and justice, and even hurling threats at the head of the wicked Countess. "I expressly charge my son to seek satisfaction,

¹ Mary Stuart to Elizabeth.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 54.

² Those false reports were spread intentionally among the Catholic powers, and went so far as to say that Mary Stuart was about to become a mother: "Ceste belle nouvelle avoit

courrue par toute l'Italie." Antoine Standen à Marie Stuart, 12 Octobre, 1584.—Prince Labanoff, VII., 162.

³ Prince Labanoff, V., 389, 394; VI., 32.

⁴ Idem, V., 401, 447.

not for my private vindication but for his own honour, and it shall be one of my last commands on my death-bed, if I do not before then get redress ; there being, as far as I am concerned, neither life nor grandeur which I would not willingly stake for the preservation of my honour.¹ Again I say that whosoever has said such things has basely and villanously lied, and lies every time, and as many times as he shall say them ; and I take upon myself to have it proved to him, sword in hand, by a person of his own rank, if his wicked conscience allows him to appear."² Although the lords of Council were persuaded of Mary's innocence,³ and each was guarded in his language against the Countess, on account of her reputation of "cunning and ill disposed,"⁴ the false rumours were, however, spread to injure Mary, and Elizabeth threw aside all propriety by receiving the Countess in her palace.⁵

That insulting behaviour irritated the victim, and made her think of arraigning the Countess and her children before the Court, and inflicting on them an exemplary punishment : "there is in the kingdom," said she, "no subject, however vile, poor, or abject, who could be denied reparation of insult, and satisfaction for that of which he may be falsely accused ; all the more reason then that it should be so, in a calumny so atrocious and important, upon one of my rank, so closely connected with the said Queen, and detained as I am, bound hand and foot and almost gagged, without liberty to defend myself."⁶ Seeing that prayers and threats were of no avail, Mary had recourse to the extremest measure : that of defaming the Countess, and of exposing her under her true colours, in order to guard her own honour. She wrote a most telling letter to Elizabeth, and another to the Countess, informed the Queen of England of what the Countess of Shrewsbury had been saying about Leicester, Hatton, Simier and the Duke d'Anjou, and took advantage of that circumstance to write openly of all secrets and all intrigues, to complain of the bad treatment she had been made to suffer, and to show Elizabeth that, what she fancied was buried in the darkness of her orgies or of her councils, was known. Historians hostile to Mary Stuart have made the writing of that letter a fault. They would have had her allow herself to be dishonoured without opening her mouth.

¹ Mary Stuart to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 2d January, 1584.—Prince Labanoff, V., 396, 397.

² Mary Stuart to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 28th January, 1584.—Prince Labanoff, V., 412.

³ The same to the same, 26th February 1584.—Prince Labanoff, V., 426.

⁴ Castelnau de Mauvissière to Catherine de Médicis, 9th April.—Teulet, III., 252.

⁵ Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, 18th October.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 34.

⁶ Mary Stuart to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 18th October.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 38.

What they in their studied language call a "diabolical imagination," I call a duty; to let one's self be publicly attacked under such circumstances, without taking the means of protecting one's honour, is to become debased and degraded, and to forget God, in whose image we are all made.*

Besides, the letter was very likely not sent,³ for Mary kept it back among her papers and wrote another in which is noticed the feeling which dictated the first. "Would to God," said she, "that I could speak to you for two hours; it might be as beneficial to you as to me."⁴

The Earl of Shrewsbury soon obtained the recantation which Mary had to no purpose been demanding for more than a year; the Countess and her children were called before the Council. In answer to the questions which were put to them, they maintained that they had never said anything of the kind; they affirmed on their honour that they had never "seen or known anything in Mary which was not worthy of a Princess, and that they held all those who had spoken ill of her, wicked and evil doers."⁵

That recantation gave the prisoner great joy, and made her captivity more bearable. Like all sensitive creatures, Mary loved solitude; she never found herself thrust into worldly matters or negotiations without feeling a certain grief, and those who have seen in her only a "noble adventuress" naturally bent upon undertaking all, know little of that rich

¹ Dargaud, *Histoire de Marie Stuart*, 342.

² One of Mary Stuart's enemies, whose small merit has been too often boasted, thus expresses himself in reference to the letter: *Il n'y a pas de preuve plus singulière. . . de cette fureur de se compromettre que Marie Stuart portait au dernier degré. . . que sa lettre écrite à Elisabeth peu de temps après son arrivée en Ecosse.* !!! Philarète Chasles, *Jeunesse, passions et malheurs de Marie Stuart*, 10. Blunders are to be found in every page of that diatribe; a thorough contempt of the reader is required to dare to print such a statement. Cf. *The Letter of Mary*, Prince Labanoff, VI., 50 sq., and the *Amorous life of Queen Elizabeth* by Hugh Campbell in the case of Mary, 258-305.

³ Mary had several reasons for not sending the letter; in the first place the immediate departure of Nau for London forced her not to estrange Elizabeth, then the Earl of Shrewsbury, irritated at seeing himself suspected, exacted a solemn recantation on the part of his

wife. Mary had, therefore, no further need of coming to that extremity; grave historians, however, maintain that the letter was really sent, but that it was stopped by Burghley; they say so, from the fact that the autograph remained among that Statesman's papers. That opinion appears to me to be inadmissible, for if the letter had been sent, Mary could never have written after a few days' interval quite a different letter to Elizabeth, a thing which she did, nor above all let her understand that she had important secrets to reveal to her. My idea is that the famous letter (without date) was reserved for another time, and that it was seized in Mary's papers at the time of the Babington Conspiracy: that explains how it fell into the hands of Burghley.

⁴ Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, 8th December, 1584.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 67, 68.

⁵ Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 25th November, 1584. Teulet, III., 326. Declaration made by the Countess of Shrewsbury and her sons.—Prince Labanoff, VII., 168.

and gentle nature. In place of the precarious honours of a throne, the excellent queen would undoubtedly have liked better the closer society of her friends and relatives. Though in prison, and suffering, she wrote cheerful letters to her young *protégées*. "Darling," she wrote to Mademoiselle de Pierrepont, "I have received your letters and kind tokens for which I thank you," then she advised her, in the interest of her health, not to come to pay her a visit before the fine weather had set in, promised her a black dress, and wished her "as many blessings as there are days in the year."¹ Another time she wrote to her god-daughter Marie de Castelnau, daughter of the ambassador. "My god-daughter, my love, I was very glad to see by your letters the proof of the perfections with which, as I have heard, God has gifted you, young as you are. Learn, darling, to know and serve Him who has given you so many graces, and He will add to them; for which I entreat Him, and may He give you His holy blessing. I send you a small token from a captive to remind you of your god-mother. . . . Remember me to the mother of my dear god-child, and continue to love me as your mother for I wish to be so to you."²

While Mary, entirely given up to friendship, forgot her prison in turning her thoughts to those dear to her, France and England were very busy about Scotland. That country, a prey to home strife, had no rest. It was at first intended to send thither Castelnau and Walsingham to treat of peace in the name of France and England,³ but Elizabeth resolved to act alone, and, wishing to re-establish in Scotland the English influence which had fallen with Morton, judged it meet to find fault with France on account of the English exiles. "The Queen of England complains," wrote Henry III. to Castelnau, "that some of her subjects are harboured in this my kingdom. Let her remember that her country has always been a haven for my rebellious subjects, and the spot where their chief undertakings have been thought of and ripened, and where they have found the most favour and support. But it is better to hush up and forget those old quarrels and complaints than to keep them in memory."⁴

On account of that misunderstanding, Walsingham repaired alone to Scotland, where the Earl of Arran's return to power had changed

¹ Mary Stuart to Mademoiselle de Pierrepont, 13th Sept., 1583.—Prince Labanoff, V., 370.

² Mary Stuart to Mademoiselle Castelnau de Mauvissière, 26th January, 1584.—Prince Labanoff, V., 406.

³ Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 5th December 1583.—Teulet, III., 242. *Mémoire et Instruction au Sieur de Mauvissière*.—Idem, III., 245 sq.

⁴ Henry III. to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 15th February 1584.—Teulet, III., 250.

matters. With him came revenge, as he banished, for the peace of the country, those whom the King had of necessity forgiven. Elizabeth was vexed at that, and, displeased and in angry mood, wrote a sharp letter to the young King, hoping to frighten him; she taunted him with breaking his word to the lords, and spoke of several other grievances. "You deale not," said she, "with one whose experience can take dross for good paiments, nor one that esily will be beguiled: No, no, I mind to sett to schoole your craftiest counsiler."¹ James answered that he thanked her for her advice, notwithstanding the tone in which it was given, and that he thought, with her, that a King's word ought never to be broken, but that he did not look in like manner on a forced promise.²

Walsingham's arrival caused a great stir; people wondered what brought to Scotland the old diplomatist who could not, even in England, find time to recruit his health. The true aim of his journey was, first, to learn for himself what report said of the young King; then, to sow division and renew the intrigues which Morton's death had broken off in a manner so galling to England. Elizabeth's hopes were doomed to fall to the ground; the famous diplomatist could not change the feelings of the Court, and he lost in Scotland precious time, which he might have turned to better account elsewhere in the service of his country, whose situation became day by day more critical.³

The greatest quickness and watchfulness were needed from Elizabeth's ministers: England was threatened with an invasion. The Duke de Guise was doing all he could to ruin Elizabeth. He had sent into the island, Charles Paget, under the name of Mopo, to find out what ports were best for landing an army, how many men were needed for the invasion, how many soldiers the English could bring into the field, what provisions and *matériel* of war and transport, and how much money ought to be brought to England so as not to grind down the people, what steps ought to be taken to ensure the success of the expedition, and what kind of ships would be most convenient. In short, Paget was to assure the English Catholics of his (Duke de Guise's) devotedness, and proclaim to them, on his word and honour, that his sole object was to re-establish Catholicism and put Mary Stuart on the throne of

¹ Queen Elizabeth to King James VI., 7th August 1583.—Ellis, I., ii., 294.

² Melville's Memoirs, 297 sq.

³ Walsingham to Queen Elizabeth, 12th and 15th Sept. 1583. State Paper Office, Scot-

land. Melville's Memoirs, 309 sq. Moyse's Memoirs, 83, 84. Mary Stuart to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 12th Nov. Prince Labanoff, V., 379. Rapin Thoyras, Histoire d'Angleterre, VII., 390.

England.¹ At the same time, he charged Richard Melino to gain over the Pope to the design, by often describing in his presence, in high-flown language, that magnificent triumph of the faith.² The Pope gave only feeble encouragement to the projects of the Duke de Guise, and offered almost nothing; the zeal or ambition of Philip II. cooled; and the Scots, weary of delays, cooled after the first enthusiasm.³ The Duke had once again to put off his undertaking.

Everywhere there was disquiet, and England passed into a state of uneasiness which was for a long time to make Elizabeth restless. The oppressed Catholics thought they now beheld the dawn of a more peaceful day; they even then hailed it from afar, eager to hasten, at the risk of their lives, that peaceful life which the future seemed to promise them. The English government, seeing the general dread, redoubled its watchfulness.

The first victim to suffer for treason was one Arden, a gentleman of old family, who refused Leicester an estate which the favourite wished to have. Leicester, annoyed by the refusal, made up his mind to ruin him, and, to do so, used a pretext as absurd as it was revolting. Arden had given his daughter in marriage to a Catholic gentleman named Somerville. That unfortunate man having gone mad, gave way to deeds and utterances the importance of which he could not estimate. In a fit of madness, he attacked, sword in hand, some passers-by on the highway, crying, "Death to the Protestants and the Queen!" Arrested at once, the poor madman was taken to the Tower. His father-in-law, mother-in-law, wife, sister and a missionary followed him there in a few days, when the inquiry began, with the help of the dreaded tortures then in use for such cases. Arden defended himself with a noble simplicity. Leicester's hatred spoke louder than the gentleman's innocence; he was condemned to the punishment of traitors. What clearly showed the villany of the judgment was to see all the others set free, save Somerville, who was found strangled in his cell, while the lands of the innocent were made over to one of Leicester's creatures.⁴

The next case of moment was much more important, and struck the really guilty ones. From hints more or less vague, Elizabeth's ministers had Francis Throckmorton arrested, and accused of conspiracy

¹ Instruccion para Inglaterra de 28 de Agosto 1583.—Archives de l'Empire, Fonds de Simancas, Liasse B., No. 116; Teulet, V., 312.

² Instruccion para Roma.—Teulet, V., 308 sq.

³ Various Spanish Papers.—Teulet, V., 317, 337.

⁴ Relacion de lo Succedido en Inglaterra.—Teulet, V., 323. Various Letters.—Prince Labanoff, V., 400, 416; Camden, III., 370.

against the Queen and her government. The arrest spread terror among the English Catholics. Several guilty parties, dreading a like fate, hurried abroad ; others, among whom were the Earls of Northumberland and Arundel, were brought before the Council. They gave a formal denial to the accusation, and as no proofs could be found against them, they were acquitted. As for Throckmorton, he must stay in prison and explain about the two papers which had been found in his house, the one containing a list of the ports suited for landing an army, the other, the names of the leading Catholic gentlemen of the kingdom. Put three times to the rack, he every time said that those papers, written by one who hated him, were laid at his door, only to ruin him the more easily. His firmness brought back courage to those of his party ; but at the fourth torturing, Throckmorton could keep silent no longer. He had three times borne the most exquisite pain rather than betray his friends and accuse himself ; but he had to give way at last. He revealed the plans of the Duke de Guise, and gravely compromised the Spanish ambassador. He died asserting his innocence.¹

Burghley now took advantage of that declaration to accuse the ambassador of Philip II. of plotting against the people's rights, and got so angry that he threatened him with the severest punishments, if he did not at once leave the country. Mendoça denied the charges brought against him, and he, the accused, then becoming the accuser, reproached the ministers with using for their own good the help which the Duke de Guise meant for the King of Scotland, and with offering a reward for the assassination of Don Juan of Austria ; then, warming by degrees, "It belongs," said he, "neither to the Queen of England nor to any one to judge of my conduct ; the King, my master, alone has a right to ask me for an account of it. As far as regards the punishments with which I am threatened, I heed them not, and if any one wish to go further, it must be sword in hand, not otherwise. Moreover, I await only my passport to quit England." He took leave of the ministers, assuring them that as they had not recognised him as minister of peace, they should do so as minister of war. He left London greatly enraged, received the thanks of his Sovereign, managed that Wood, whom Elizabeth had sent to Philip II., got no audience of the King, and went to Paris, where he became the heart and soul of all conspiracies.²

¹ Tassis to Philip II., 22d December, and *Relacion de lo Succedido en Inglaterra*.—Teulet, V., 322-324 ; Robertson's *History*, II., 111, 112.

² Various State Papers.—Teulet, III., 263 ; V., 327 ; M. Mignet, II., 240, 241 ; Strype, III., 153, and App., 43 ; Keralio, *Histoire d'Elizabeth*, V., 385.

Mary had henceforth no one, save the French ambassador, to aid her, and he was watched so closely that he could do but little. England had spies everywhere. Walsingham sought out needy and covetous wretches, bought them at a high price, and sent them throughout the island, and into the ports and capitals of the continent, so that nothing should escape him. Europe was enmeshed by that net of which London was the centre. No one dared to act or speak. Letters from the English Cabinet were sent with false signatures to nobles suspected of Catholic leanings, and penalties were incurred by those who did not hand those letters over to the ministers; people were obliged even to betray themselves; the members of one and the same family anxiously watched one another: and there were informers on all sides. Each day the prison received new inmates, and the sea was furrowed by the boats of the runaways; it was a sad period, forcibly recalling the justly branded reigns of Nero and Domitian.¹

Protestantism, that great intellectual defection, fatally brought about other smaller defections; for when faith is gone from the heart, fidelity is very near taking leave. The ambassadors were much annoyed by that state of matters; they knew not whom to trust, having traitors even in their own houses. Elizabeth had bought, one after the other, those on whom Mary Stuart most relied. Cherelles, the secretary, had allowed himself to be bribed;² Archibald Douglas, whom Mary, for some time past, looked upon as one of the pillars of her party, and for whom she was asking a pension,³ was also betraying his mistress.⁴ Fowler, formerly attached to the Countess of Lennox, had shamefully sold himself,⁵ and after those treasons came disloyalty still more shameful; there were Gray,⁶ Arran,⁷ and James himself,⁸ vile characters,

¹ Camden, III., 377; Smolett's History, book V., chap. vii., No. 51, 52; Rapin Thoyras, VII., 394.

² Prince Labanoff, V., 429; VI., 27, 150; VII., 173.

³ Idem, V., 351, 367, 384, 471; VI., 9.

⁴ Idem, VI., 14, 22, 26, 186, 187, 265.

⁵ Prince Labanoff, VI., 21.

⁶ Idem, VI., 44, 91, 123.

⁷ Castelnau to the King, 16th July.—Teulet III., 291, 295.

⁸ Ellis, II., iii., 124; Robertson's History, II., 120, sq. That ought not, perhaps, to be charged as a fault against James VI.; the feeble Prince did but obey those around him. On the 13th July of the same year he wrote to his mother—"Je ne scauroys exprimer l'ex-

trême consolation que j'en ay reçu (from Fontenai's visit) ayant entendu par luy plusieurs particularitez de vostre estat, et spécialement de l'imcompréhensible affection maternelle qu'il vous plaist continuer en mon endroit, dont m'efforceray plus que jamais de me rendre (digne) par tous devoirs d'humilité et d'obéissance en l'accomplissement de vos commandemens. . . . Sur le tout je prometz à V. M. qu'elle recevra de moy tout le contentement qu'une bonne mère puisse espérer d'un très-humble et très-obeissant Filz, tel que je vous seray toute ma vie."—Murdin's Papers, 434. And he forbade in his kingdom, under penalty of death, the pamphlets of Buchanan.—Teulet, III., 292.

who set a price on their deeds, and rivalled one another in lowness. Mary could well say :—

*“ En feinte mes amis changent leur bienveillance,
Tout le bien qu'ils me font est desirer ma mort ;
Et comme si, mourant, j'étais en deffailance,
Dessus mes vestements ils ont jetté le sort.”*

Such wholesale desertion grieved her, and often troubled her mind ; on one of the fly-leaves of her prayer book she wrote these sad words:—

*“ Et plus-tost que changer de mes maux l'aventure,
Chacun change pour moi d'honneur et de nature.”*¹

It is wonderful that those men, so feeble before Elizabeth, displayed in their own country the greatest energy when their rights were at stake. Since his return to power, the Earl of Arran had made a reputation for himself, even among the most fiery nobles in Scotland. He got the King to recall the pardon granted to the rebel lords, and pursued them continually, not giving them breathing space. The Earl of Gowrie himself, to whom the King had given a special pardon, felt the anger of the powerful favourite. He was ordered to leave Scotland within a few days.

He had retired to Dundee, waiting for a ship to sail, when he learned that the Earls of Angus and Mar, the Master of Glamis and the Hamiltons were coming back from exile, and resolved to take the field against the Earl of Arran and the King.² The unfortunate are easily led away by the unlooked for chance of mending their position. Gowrie joined them, and promised reinforcements. From that moment he could not make up his mind to start. His long stay in Dundee, added to the many rumours going about, raised strong suspicions against him, and he was arrested. The Confederates, not knowing what had happened to Gowrie, pushed forward, and were fortunate enough to take Stirling. There they learned that their accomplice was in the hands of James VI. That bad news took from them the courage to go on with what they had so happily begun. They fancied that Gowrie had betrayed them, that his imprisonment was only a feint, and thenceforth they acted slowly and timidly ; and so their fall was sure. James VI. hurriedly raised an army, marched to Stirling at the head of some fifteen thousand men, and drove out the rebels. Gowrie paid with his head the venture of his friends, which

¹ Lines by Mary Stuart.—Prince Labanoff, VII., 348, 350.

² Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 23d and 26th April.—Teulet, III., 255, 262.

he had seconded only with good wishes, whilst his accomplices, declared guilty of high treason, were banished for life.¹

The event caused a great stir at the Court of England. Elizabeth, fearing, and not without reason, that James VI., irritated at being so often attacked by the nobles whom she sheltered, might fall back upon France or Spain, sent to Scotland, Davison,² who, besides his Scottish origin, had the advantage of knowing the ground, as in the preceding year he had accompanied la Mothe Fénelon and de Meyneville thither. He easily succeeded in gaining over the Earl of Arran, and before he left, it was agreed that the Earl should communicate with Lord Hundson, Governor of Berwick, with a view to peace between the two countries; but really, to prevent James VI. from marrying any other than an English Princess.³

Scotland was again at the mercy of England, and, by a strange chance, the only person who could keep the young King from slipping on the steep slope, was Mary Stuart, who tired of drafting treaties which never came to anything, either owing to her son, or through the malice of her enemies,⁴ had taken upon herself to advise James VI. to show every attention to Elizabeth.⁵ The Queen of Scots, in counselling peace, thought, no doubt, that she might gain the good graces of Elizabeth, but it was quite otherwise.

For a long time it had been whispered, that Shrewsbury was to be replaced as keeper by some other, and the reports had more than once alarmed the poor captive shut up in Sheffield; but now the time had come.⁶ Shrewsbury, called to London under the pretext of arranging matters betwixt Mary Stuart and her son,⁷ was replaced by Sir Ralph Sadler and Sommers, who, while coming under the pretence of concluding peace had in reality no authority to do so;⁸ and Mary, deceived by the reported friendliness of Elizabeth, did not, for some time, learn her misfortune.

A sad discovery was in store for her; she found out how matters stood, and on that first grief a second almost as keen followed, when,

¹ The Manner and Form of the Examination of W., Earl of Gowry.—Bannat, Miscell. I., 91-106; Teulet, III., 261; V., 337; Marioreybanks, 43-47; Moyse's Memoirs, 87, sq.

² Various State Papers.—Teulet III., 253, 310.

³ Idem., *ibid.*, III., 291, 229-309; Melville's Memoirs, 328, sq; Rapin Thoyras, VII., 393.

⁴ Prince Labanoff, V., 349, 441, 475; Teulet, III., 230, 238; V., 314.

⁵ Mary Stuart to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 22d May.—Prince Labanoff, V., 473.

⁶ Shrewsbury had several times asked to be relieved of his charge.—Lodge's Illustrations, II., 117, et passim, 244 note.

⁷ Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King and to the Queen.—Teulet, III., 302, 308, 310.

⁸ Sadler's Papers, II., 344, sq. His biography by Sir Walter Scott, xxxi., sq.

within a fortnight, she was taken away from Sheffield.¹ The Earl of Shrewsbury, though somewhat rough and surly, had an excellent heart. Who was to be her gaoler now, she could not tell. Was the change of prison to be favourable to her or a forerunner of greater severity? She dared not think of it. We know the unhappy feel many a pang when leaving the places where they have suffered and wept, and if a gleam of hope does not come to console them in the change, their desolation is extreme; to tear them away from the places which have come to be, as it were, in harmony with their sorrows, seems to them the most cruel of wrongs; they feel their loneliness the more; the chastened state to which they are reduced is seen in them with fearful clearness; they think that they have ceased to be anything, that they no longer belong to themselves, but that they are quite at the mercy of the whims of others. Ah! if Mary had been able to foresee what yet awaited her upon earth, she would have shed many tears over Sheffield, and have regretted the prison where she had served her apprenticeship to grief; but, it is one of the greatest gifts of God, that He, in His inscrutable wisdom, has willed to hide the future from us.

In Scotland, the Earl of Arran, after quarrelling with the nobility, savagely attacked the Presbyterian ministers who, with the aid of religion, roused the people and kindled civil war. The pulpit, as I have already observed, was, at every turn, made a political tribune. From it, violent reproaches were hurled at the King and his favourites, while the Court and the Government were the objects of the fiercest satires; and what made matters worse, the ministers said they were accountable only to their own courts. Those pretensions, and a fault-finding disposition had offended James VI., and had more than once brought on severe measures. The quarrel, quieted by Durie's flight, was renewed afresh; the glaring approval, given by the ministers to the *Ruthven affair*, had made all reconciliation impossible. War must come; the opportunity alone was wanted. The late defeat of the conspirators, while annihilating a party favourable to the Presbyterians, raised in like proportion the courage and strength of the King's party. The ministers were commanded to account for their conduct and the

¹ The measures which Elizabeth adopted to ensure the success of the removal are to be seen in Sadler's Papers, II., 351-368. I call the reader's attention to this one: "For avoyding of resort of people, as much as may be, you shall have care that you doo not lodge the said Queen in any markett towne, or great

borough . . . taking other waye then the common high waye, if it maye be without great hindrance of your journey."—Sadler's Papers, II., 353. Mary cannot then have been quite so much hated in England as some people will have it.

language which they had used. To the reproaches which were addressed to them by the Earl of Arran, they replied by insult; and the leading minister, in a prophetic tone, so successful with the masses, said to him, that "as a true minister of the Word of God, he pronounced his approaching ruin, as much on account of his pride and too great audacity, as for being the most wicked counsellor that could be near their King;" "from which," adds the ambassador of France, who relates the incident, "he passed to several topics."¹ Their obstinacy caused their ruin, for they were shut out from the Parliament which was to try them, declared amenable to civil courts,² and threatened with death if they were again guilty of such outrages.

The promulgation of those laws at the Cross of Edinburgh gave rise to a scandalous scene from which the ministers might have kept aloof without injury. One among them, Robert Pont, publicly protested against the formalities, and declared null and void the decrees by which they were condemned, seeing that the clergy had not given their consent.³ The Government redoubled its severity, and the ministers, in large numbers, had to bend their steps towards England. Those struggles and quarrels made, almost useless, the presence of Fontenai at the Court of Scotland, whither he had come to defend the interests of Mary Stuart. That embassy passed, so to say, unnoticed.⁴

It was not so with Gray's to the Court of England. Gray was a Catholic gentleman, who, after living a long time in Paris and gaining the confidence of the Archbishop of Glasgow, had come to live in Edinburgh.⁵ A person of good breeding, learned in all the tricks of courtiers, lively, cheerful, full of spirit, agreeable, though no buffoon, flattering without cringing, of pleasing person and marvellously supple mind, he soon gained the friendship of James VI. The Earl of Arran, fearing that Gray might supplant him in the King's favour, sent him to the Court of England as the ambassador of Scotland; his sole object in

¹ Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 22d October.—Teulet, III., 313; Camden, III., 386.

² They had freed themselves therefrom at the Ayr Assembly 1562.—Sanderson's History, 28. Making them amenable to civil courts was only applying to them an article passed against the Catholics by the Parliament of 1560 in which the innovators said: "Les ecclésiastiques n'auront plus de jurisdiction, ains comparoistront tous assignés par devant

les juges temporels."—Papiers et Négociations du Règne de François II., 467.

³ Robertson's History, II., 108.

⁴ Calderwood's History, 151-156; Prince Labanoff, VI., 1, 4, 25, 82.

⁵ "This gentleman who hath beene alwaies notid in religion an obstinat papist, in affection French, in devocion a professed seruant of the Scottish Queen."—Davison to Walsingham, 24th August, State Paper Office, Q. Elizabeth, Scotland.

so acting was to remove a rival whom he could overthrow the more easily in his absence.

Mary hoped much from Gray, who, in France, had shown himself her warm partisan. As soon as she heard of his arrival in London she asked leave for her secretary, Nau, to pay him a visit and exchange thoughts with him relative to her freedom. At the same time she pledged her word to Elizabeth to forget the past, to renounce during that Queen's lifetime her rights to the Crown of England, to support her against all her enemies, to reside as hostage in England, and not leave without her consent, and lastly, in the event of her return to Scotland, to make no change in the established religion.¹ Those wise and acceptable conditions offered Elizabeth all possible guarantees, yet they were not admitted. Gray, contrary to Mary Stuart's expectation, treated of the affairs of Scotland only; Castelnau, with little encouragement from his King, took no heed of the affair, and left the Scottish ambassador to act according to his will or power; the latter took part in the Anglican service, quarrelled with Nau, obtained but little success for his master, and did Mary much harm by revealing to her enemy the secrets which friendship had formerly entrusted to him.²

Those secrets were dreadful in themselves; and what had just happened sufficiently showed that they were not idle projects. England, for a moment moved by Throckmorton's confession, was beginning to recover, when the arrest of the Jesuit Creighton and the Scottish priest Abdy gave rise to fresh alarm. Chased at sea by an English cruiser, and on the point of being taken, Creighton tore up his papers, and threw them overboard; but the wind blew them back, and strewed them on the deck; they were picked up by a passenger, who handed them to the English ministers. The pieces, when put together, unfolded the plot against Elizabeth; and Creighton, on being put to the rack, told whatever else was dark or unknown.³ The news created a painful feeling in England. It was now clear that people were treading on a volcano, and that the skill of the ministers was likely to be baffled. In fear, the friends of Elizabeth formed an Association, now well-known, to defend the Queen's life, and pledged themselves to pursue even to the death, not only those who should make an attempt on her life, but also the person in favour of whom such attempts should be made.⁴ That last

¹ Articles presented by Nau.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 59, sq.

² Various papers.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 4-32, 265; Teulet, III., 307; Camden, III., 388.

³ Camden, III., 384; Prince Labanoff, VI., 44.

⁴ Sadler's Papers, II., 431.

clause, as unjust as it was cruel, could be meant only for Mary, though she knew nothing of the affair. The poor prisoner did not fail to notice it when it was read to her; yet she still had the courage to offer to add her signature to the others.¹

Thanks to more sound reasoning and more profound reflections, the rules of the Association had to be modified at the next Session of Parliament: its consequences were too revolting to be allowed in a meeting so grave as that of Parliament. Every one felt that Mary ought not to be made responsible for what it might please one of her party to do of his own accord: the article was softened, and the associates lost the power to put to death any one who should not be found guilty by at least twenty-four of the court.²

Another article, less unreasonable, but quite as odious, was nearly passed unanimously. It bore that every English Catholic churchman should be guilty of high treason if he were found in the kingdom after forty days; that whosoever aided him should incur the penalties due to felony; and that any one, warned of his presence in England, who did not denounce him within twelve days should be liable to fine or imprisonment at the Queen's pleasure. It also stated that the students in the seminaries on the Continent should be bound to return home before six months under pain of being declared traitors and losing their patrimony, and their parents fined in a sum of one hundred pounds sterling.³

At the third reading of the bill, a Welshman named William Parry, protested against the measure, seeing in it only a source of misery, treachery and desperate acts hurtful to England, which it would bathe in blood, and dangerous for private individuals, who, under that pretext, would be loaded with fines and confiscations at the will of some favourite. Called upon to explain his reasons, he refused to do so except before the lords of Council. He was arrested, but afterwards released by order of the Queen.

Parry was a man of little importance, of no great birth or remarkable talents. He had entered Burghley's service in 1570, and was sent to the Continent as a spy. His mission proving a failure, he returned to England over head and ears in debt, married a rich widow, squandered her fortune, and, the more quickly to clear himself, took it into his head to kill his chief creditor. Burghley's influence alone saved him from the gallows. Having again landed on the Continent, he became a Catholic, made a show of extreme zeal for his new belief, and stole in among the

¹ Articles presented by Nau.—Prince Laban-off, VI., 61, No. 10.

² Camden, III., 396.

³ Idem, 397.

enemies of Queen Elizabeth. Receiving from them only a somewhat cold welcome, he wished to make himself conspicuous, and proposed to murder the Queen of England. Creighton, to whom he had unhappily unbosomed himself, assured him that it was a crime in the eyes of God and men; Palma, another Jesuit, would not listen to him; Persons refused to see him, and Dr Allen's virtues made him so respected, that Parry dared not reveal the plan to him. Not knowing what to do, the spy asked Morgan for letters of introduction to the Nuncio Raggazzoni, handed to the Nuncio a letter for Cardinal Cosmo, in which he offered his services, without hinting in the least at the murder, and returned to England to await the reply. There, in presence of Elizabeth, before Burghley and Walsingham, he lavished the greatest praises on himself, gave a pompous account of his travels and services, asserted that the Pope had urged him to assassinate the Queen, and that Cardinal Cosmo was to write him on the subject. He indeed received the much wished-for reply, but the letter was so harmless, that he was refused the pension he asked for, and was told that he had done nothing deserving of that favour. In his distress, he asked the Governorship of St Catherine's Hospital, wearied the counsellors with his demands, and had at length to return to his old trade, and seek fortune among conspirators.

As bad fortune would have it, there was among the exiles in the pay of England one Edmond Nevil, of the ancient family of Westmoreland. This Nevil claimed a magnificent inheritance then in the hands of Lord Burghley. Parry joined him, and by way of consolation, depicted Burghley to him under the gloomiest colours, telling him that he should never gain his case against a man of such high position, and that he should not only lose his suit, but also ruin himself, as Burghley was his enemy. He wished thus to drive Nevil to despair, and lead him into wicked designs against the Queen through hatred for her minister. There was, for a time, a trial of skill and double-dealing between the two knaves, both in the pay of England; at length Nevil getting the upper-hand, accused Parry of seeking the life of Elizabeth, and the spy was thrown into the Tower.

During his trial he gave proofs of the meanest cowardice, threw the blame upon others, and defended himself with a clumsiness by no means honourable to his title of Jurisconsult; his sentence, however, recalled him to manly dignity. At that supreme moment he asserted his innocence, declared his confession null, void and false, as it was wrung from him by fear or given in the hope of bettering himself, denied that

he had ever seriously thought of the murder, and asked to have a fresh trial on other grounds. No heed was taken, and the sentence was confirmed. Driven to distraction, he exclaimed, "Alas! I die because I have defended myself badly; I die by the hand of the Queen: she shall answer for it before God. I die innocent: my blood shall fall back upon you—it shall fall back upon the Queen." "And what about the letter of Cardinal Cosmo?" said Topcliffe, the Attorney-General. "Sir," replied Parry, "you are wrong, I firmly deny that the letter treated of such a subject; weigh it in good faith, and you shall know what to believe."¹ In the fatal cart, on the way from prison to the scaffold, he again asserted his innocence. He was hanged in the palace yard at Westminster. His body, taken down alive, was opened, and it is related that the wretched man uttered a deep moan when his heart was torn out.²

So many conspiracies entered upon without the knowledge of the Queen of Scots, grieved her, and caused her to write, in her own hand, a deed by which she bound herself to the Association for the defence of Elizabeth, and declared "with the word of a Queen, on her faith and honour to repudiate from now, and hold for ever as her enemies, all those, without any exception, who by counsel, procuration, consent, or any other means, should make an attempt on the life of the Queen, her good sister, pledging herself to pursue them in every way, without ever ceasing until the end, till she had obtained sufficient and exemplary justice, punishment and revenge."³ Then she wrote to Elizabeth, congratulating her on having so fortunately escaped from the hateful enterprises of her enemies, and protesting the sincerity of her attachment. "I may just tell you," she wrote to her, "on my honour and conscience, that you shall not find me mixed up in any conspiracy whatever, abhorring, more than any one else in Christendom, a practice so hateful and acts so horrible; for, to tell you the truth, Madam, I cannot but think that those who might attempt your life are ready for mine also, and now-a-days mine seems almost to depend on yours; well knowing, that if you happen to fall, you have near you some new associates who will soon make me tread hard upon your steps. But I had rather go before, than follow with such a burden."⁴

"As for the accident which has lately befallen that unhappy man

¹ Sadler's Papers, II., 500.

² Mendoza to Philip II., 5th April.—Teulet, V., 341; Camden, III., 391-395; Strype, III., *passim*, especially 251 sq., app. 103.

³ Declaration of Mary Stuart, 5th January 1585.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 76, 77.

⁴ Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, 23d March.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 139.

Pari," she wrote on the 2d of March, to the French ambassador, "I greatly praise God for the grace which He has therein granted to the said Queen, my good sister, in having happily discovered a design so horrible and hateful."¹ Another time she wrote: "I shall never hold less dearly (the life of the said Queen, my good sister) than my own, whatever opinion to the contrary may be wickedly or seemingly conceived. And would to God that on all sides one should cut down in good earnest such corrupt and detestable ministers as I am told the said Parry was." She twice asserted that she never had spoken to Parry, who was quite unknown to her.²

The Catholics also, on their side, sought to have the rigour of the English government softened towards them. That explains how, before the bill sentencing them to death, received the royal sanction, they sent to Elizabeth an eloquent petition, in which they professed openly to acknowledge her as their true and legitimate Queen, reproving and condemning all those who should raise a hand against her, denying that the Pope even had the power to advise or try to deprive Elizabeth of her crown, and expelling from their body those who should dare to support such follies. They entreated her not to consider as unfaithful subjects men whose conscience prevented them from taking part in the ceremonies of the established worship, but to pity their situation, and leave them their Catholic priests. Richard Shelley, of the county of Essex, came forward in the name of his co-religionists, and presented the petition; but he was sent to prison and died there several years later, the victim of his nobleness.³

The good Catholics needed a more than human patience to bear their ills, and what is most astonishing is, that conspiracies were not more frequent in England. If the panegyrists of the *divine* Elizabeth extol her clemency and gentleness, as she herself took care to boast of her morals, they are quite free to do so; but in spite of their efforts, and notwithstanding their falsehoods, the facts speak out too loudly to be denied. Tortures, at which one shudders, were invented to bring about the apostacy of a great number. The wooden horse, so frequently employed under the tyrants of Rome, was again put into use; in that way men were questioned under torture, as formerly when iron gauntlets bruised

¹ Mary Stuart to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 2d March 1585.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 168.

² Mary Stuart to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 24th and 29th March.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 146, 149.

³ Strype's Annals, III., 298.

⁴ The word is William Wood's. "A relation of Mr Wood's Conference with the Scottishe Queene."—State Paper Office, Mary Queen of Scots, XIII.

the wrists of the martyrs. When his hands were firmly fastened, with the aid of a screw, the Catholic was raised from the ground by means of those gauntlets, to make his sufferings more intense : happy were those who soon lost their senses. Lastly, a machine so frightful was invented, that no suitable name for it could be found ; and it was called at random " the Scavenger's Daughter." It was a somewhat wide hoop of iron, in which the victim was compressed ; the hoop caught the sufferer under the knees, bent him, doubled him up, and pressed his legs against his breast with such force, that the victim became a lump of shapeless flesh, and that the blood issued from his mouth and nostrils, sometimes even from the tips of his fingers and toes. The Catholic prisoners numbered hundreds, while seventy priests were banished at the same time.¹

To tortures were added the fears which the Act of Association caused them ; for at every moment they dreaded to be compromised. Protestant lords, greedy for riches or anxious to be thought zealous, made a point to persecute them. They were made to pay heavy contributions, and were pursued and tracked like wild beasts, ignorant where they might find help. Those who could flee, took hurriedly to boats and gained the Continent, after the example of their predecessors ; they did so by night, lest they should be seen. Others went to seek shelter on the estates of the Queen's favourites, to escape those who pursued them. They were all much to be pitied.

The sufferings of those unhappy men, more than her own sorrows, caused Mary great grief ; and yet what sympathy was wanted for herself, in the sad position to which she had been brought ! I shall not weary the reader with gloomy accounts, nor sadden him beyond measure with afflictions three centuries old ; but how can one help being sorrowful in the midst of so many horrors ? On the 3d of September (N.S. 13th), Mary left Sheffield for Wingfield, peaceful enough in mind. Perhaps a ray of hope had just shone " through the iron bars that shut her from the world," comforting her, and telling her of a chance of freedom. During the journey she conversed freely with her keepers. " Do you think," said she to Sommers, who watched her closely, " that I should try to escape if I could ? " " I do think so," replied he, " for it is natural in every creature narrowly confined to seek

¹ *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, by R. Challoner, Edit. 1843, I., passim ; Camden, III., 378 ; Lingard, II., App. D.D. I am far from criticising the Protestants, and from sharing the strong feelings of several of my co-religionists ; yet, in spite of my repugnance

to all that looks like recrimination, I cannot help quoting an almost unknown document, which I submit to Protestants and Catholics, and which, without further remark, I leave to their thoughts. *Proofs*, I.

for liberty." "No, indeed," replied the Queen with vivacity, "I swear to you, on my word, that I should not do so. You mistake my sentiments; my heart is too noble for that, and I had rather die with honour in the depths of a prison, than flee with shame." After a while she added, "And if the Queen, of her own free will, were to set me free, whither do you think that I should go?" "I think, madam, that you would go to Scotland, into your estates, as you have good reason to do." "It is true," replied Mary, "I should like to go there, but only to see my son, and give him good advice: then I should retire to France; there to live in quiet, and free from the cares of government, living with a small circle of friends upon my small inheritance."¹ It was a brilliant, but passing dream, alas! never realised.

On the 13th of January (N.S. 23d) she left Wingfield for the frightful Castle of Tutbury. She wrote on the day of her departure to Queen Elizabeth: "Madam, my good sister, to please you, as I desire in all things, I now take the road to Tutbury, convinced that there, both in my treatment and all other respects, it will please you, according to the trust which I place entirely in you, to have due regard to my good and safety, as on my side, I shall endeavour more and more to deserve it."²

The journey from Wingfield to Tutbury tried Mary's patience: it was in mid-winter, and the royal captive was so weakened by three months of sufferings and sickness that she could scarcely move.³ The castle wherein she was to dwell was an old, isolated house, on a lofty height exposed to all the winds. The sad tenant of the old castle has left us her own description of it. She wrote to Castelnau after a stay of nine months, this long and too truthful account: "To show you then clearly, in the first place, the hardships I have to endure in my dwelling, and of what you ought to complain for me to the said Queen (Elizabeth) who, as I presume, has never been fully told of the place, I shall mention that I am here in an enclosure of walls, on the top of a mountain exposed to all winds and the inclemencies of the weather; within the said enclosure, like the one in the wood at Vincennes, there is an old shooting lodge, built of timber and plaster work, with chinks on all sides, and not a lath to hold together the plaster, which is broken in endless places; the said dwelling, distant from the walls about eighteen feet, is so low that the earthen rampart which is behind the wall is as high as the top of the dwelling, so that the sun cannot shine on that

¹ Sadler's Papers, II., 393.

² Mary Stuart to the ambassador of France.

³ Mary Stuart to Queen Elizabeth, 13th January.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 220.
 nuary.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 86.

side ; no pure air can reach it, but only damp and rot, to such an extent that it is impossible to put there any furniture which is not covered in four days with mould. I leave you to judge how such a state of things acts upon the body ; and, in a word, the most of the rooms are rather cells for vile and abject criminals than a dwelling for a person of my rank or for others of much inferior quality. I am sure there is not a lord in this kingdom who would not think it a torture and tyranny to be obliged to live in a place so cheerless and narrow. Yea too, I know there be others of lower degree than lords, who wish to see me in a plight worse than their own ; but I am sure they even, must look upon such treatment as inhuman and ruthless. The lodging, I have for my own person, as all those who have been here can witness, is only two wretched little rooms, so very cold, especially during the night, that, but for the screens and fences of curtains and tapestry made by myself, I could not live there a single day ; and of those who have nursed me at night during my sickness, scarcely one has escaped without illness, inflammation or catarrh. Sir Amyas can testify that on one occasion he saw three of my maids sick at the same time ; and my physician himself, who came in for his share of illness, told him plainly several times, that he could not answer for my health during the coming winter, if I had to stay in this house ; for if it is to be replastered, or otherwise repaired and increased, think how unhealthy it must be with all the wet lime and mortar, for me, who am already unable to bear the least dampness ; so there is no need whatever to add any new rooms, or make repairs this winter. As for the house whither they mean to take me during the said alterations, it is a block of building close by this, and my keeper can vouch for it that it could not lodge even the few servants I have ; and to live without them in such a lonely place would shatter my most nerveless frame : whereon, for the present, I wish to say no more. If I must come to the comforts, I have, as I have already informed you, no gallery or study wherein to retire at times alone, except two little holes, looking out on the gloomy circuit of the wall and the larger of the two is only nine feet square. To take out-door recreation, on foot or in my chaise (there being in this mountainous place no open space) I had only a quarter of an acre of land, round about the stables, which Sommer caused, last winter, to be ploughed and fenced in with stakes, a place, to look at it, where you might keep pigs, but to name it a garden would be absurd. No shepherd's patch of ground in the neighbourhood but more delights the eye. As for riding, the whole winter through, I have found that at one time the snow, at another the

waters so cut up the roads that one cannot go at any pace a mile ; the same with driving ; so that, when I need exercise, I must go on foot. As no house, with so many low bred people in it as this, can be long kept clean, however orderly they may be, so this house, and I blush to have to say it, wanting proper conveniences for the necessity of nature, has a sickening stench ever lingering in it. On every Saturday, too, the cesspools must be cleared out, even to the one below my windows, whence come none of the perfumes of Arabia."¹

Her requests were left unheeded. Burghley, who formerly showed her some kindness, decoyed by the proverb, that imitation is the sincerest of flattery, seemed afraid to intercede for her. She was so weak that she could not take out-door exercise, and horses for her carriage were refused.² She had to ask, as a favour, that some of her attendants be allowed to go to town, under proper watch, to buy the little delicacies needed in a sick chamber.³

Her bodily pains were more cruel through her keen, mental anxieties. Her son, misled by Gray, seemed almost regardless of her misfortunes.⁴ While that grief was young, Mary again wrote to the ambassador of France : "Monsieur de Mauvissière, I have just received through Sommers, a letter which, he says, is from my son ; it is so far, both in language and in substance, wanting in the duty and fealty which my said son owes me, and so different from his former promises, that I cannot believe it to be his, but rather one prompted by Gray, who, full of impiety towards God, and dissimulation towards men, thinks he can overtop everyone by carrying out what he has undertaken, namely : the entire estrangement of my said son from me."⁵

To Elizabeth she wrote almost the same words, and in strong terms, insisting on the bad way in which the master of Gray was serving her : "recognizing therein," she said, "almost word for word the same reasons as Gray wrote to me in cypher. . . . I undertake, whatever you may have been told, to make a liar of that little busybody who, counselled by one of your ministers, has undertaken to bring about the estrangement of me and my son."⁶ Such shameful work hurt the

¹ Mary Stuart to Messieurs de Mauvissière, and de Châteauneuf, 6th September, 1585. —Prince Labanoff, VI., 215, 218.

² Various letters in Prince Labanoff, VI., 91, 93, 96 passim.

³ Mary Stuart to Lord Burghley, 2nd March. —Prince Labanoff, VI., 99.

⁴ Mary Stuart to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 2d and 6th March. —Prince Labanoff, VI., 101, 112.

⁵ Mary Stuart to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 12th March. —Prince Labanoff, VI., 123.

⁶ Mary Stuart to Queen Elizabeth, 12th March. —Prince Labanoff, VI., 129. Gray's work is so much the more hateful that James VI. had, for a long time past, thought respectfully of his mother and had spoken of her in the best terms. —Sadler's Papers, II., 373, 378.

mother's heart. "Alas!" said she, "what can be more unhallowed, what more hateful to God and man than for an only child, to whose lot everything falls, and has been freely given, not only to rob his own mother of her state and crown. . . . but also to be so bewitched by wicked and secret counsel as to choose to retain them by usurpation and the violence of her subjects (who threaten him daily) rather than by that mother's frank consent."¹

Her heart, throbbing with many fears, prompted her to curse him, forsake him and disinherit him, for the good of heirs who should have "clutches strong enough to grasp all that might be placed within their reach;"² then, when her just anger was over, she threw all the blame upon Gray, cried out upon his conduct,³ and was again more a mother than a Queen. But soon, anxiety taking the place of anger, she pitied her son, and reproached him with having "sufficient years and understanding to choose between good and ill;" she dreaded for him the slowly learnt lessons of a hard experience, and begged the King of France to send to Scotland a man of good counsel, who might yet save her son.⁴

Mary must no doubt, in her painful situation, have regretted that her son should behave towards her in a manner so disrespectful. To be forgotten by him was of itself a great blow, but that he should side with her enemies became too much to bear. Whichever way the unfortunate Queen turned, she found none but hearts of stone, and only scenes of revolting barbarism. From the windows of her dwelling, changed into a prison for common criminals, she could not gaze on the country without tearful sights meeting her gaze. On one occasion it was a young Catholic, kept for some time in a turret, within ten paces of her room, who was dragged to the Protestant Church, despite his cries and protestations, while on the morrow, she saw him hanging on the wall opposite her window;⁵ five days later, she saw another body drawn up from a well.⁶ Such daily spectacles filled Mary with disgust, and her old

¹ Mary Stuart to Queen Elizabeth, 23rd March.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 135, 136.

² Various Letters.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 125, 130, 136

³ Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, 23d March, and to Castelnau de Mauvissière, on the 24th. Prince Labanoff, VI., 135, 142. "The Master of Gray," wrote Randolph, "confesseth and speaketh much of the honour that he hath received of her Majestie, promising to acknowledge the same to his live's end, offering his service with the formost for the furtherance

of any cause I had in hand, specially for the League."—Randolph to Walsingham, 2d March, State Paper Office, Queen Elizabeth, Scotland, XXXIX.

⁴ Mary Stuart to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 10th July.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 183, 184.

⁵ Mary Stuart to Queen Elizabeth, and to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 8th and 9th April.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 152, 160.

⁶ Mary Stuart to the ambassadors of France, 6th September.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 219.

recollections of Tutbury, added to the present scenes, offered her only mournful pictures. It was her first prison in England; there, had begun for her, that life, of very great trials, hardships, and affront; there, her good Rallay had died; there, several of her servants now lay ill hoping for death; all around was marked with extreme sadness, all seemed to forbode for her an unhappy end. She now spoke only of death; her hope and her affections had gone forward towards the grave. Her soul stung with grief, at the sight of so many disgraces, gave way under misfortune; she saw herself at the close of her career, more dead than alive. "If the life of poor wretches is not respected," said she, "why should mine be by those who have an interest in my death? Matters proceed too quickly and steadily to leave any hope; the Kings of Christendom know not the danger which I run. This prison is my ruin; I have lost the use of my limbs; the strength and health of my body are gone; my good fame has received many blows, and perhaps at length, all that I have left in the world may be taken from me."¹

To whom could she now apply? France and Scotland had forsaken her; Rome and Madrid were too far off; the Guises powerless, and her friends persecuted, she had no hope left but in Burghley and the Queen of England. From the first she asked her freedom, depicting to Burghley all she had suffered during her long captivity: "It is not in my power," said she to him, "to bear it longer. I therefore entreat you, once more, most affectionately, to end my captivity, and not keep me here to pine away slowly to death."² But the minister was silent. Mary at last wrote to Elizabeth, "I implore you, with clasped hands, Madame, to grant me, on any condition whatever, except my conscience, my release from this long and miserable captivity."³ Elizabeth heard, but granted nothing: all hope was now gone.

The coming of Sir Amyas Paulet, to watch the Queen of Scots, with fifty soldiers as a guard,⁴ was the answer of Burghley and Elizabeth. Sir Amyas was a rigid, harsh and austere Puritan, incapable of a bad deed, an ardent enemy of Catholicism, and moreover Leicester's creature; his future depended on the manner in which he should fulfil his duties as gaoler. The Earl of Shrewsbury who was a gentleman was generally supposed to have treated Mary as an unfortunate Queen; but Paulet treated her as a prisoner. He strictly forbade her all com-

¹ Various Letters of Mary Stuart.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 153, 161, 163, 222.

² Mary Stuart to Lord Burghley, 2d March.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 99.

³ Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, 8th April.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 154.

⁴ Various Letters of Mary.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 275, 278, 284, 335.

munication with the outside, and even prohibited her giving alms to the poor.¹ Burghley having told him to beware of an escape, he uttered this dismal reply : " Mary cannot escape without great negligence of my part. If I should be violently attacked, I will be so assured by the grace of God, that she shall die before me."² Such was the keeper of Mary Stuart.

¹ Various State Papers.—Teulet, V., 345 ;
Prince Labanoff, VI., 172, 228, 276, 377.

² Sir Amyas Paulet to Lord Burghley, 12th
June.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 176, Note 1.

CHAPTER XXII.

1585—1586.

IMPRISONMENT OF THE EARL OF ARUNDEL—DEATH OF NORTHUMBERLAND—DEPARTURE OF CASTELNAU—EDWARD WOTTON IN SCOTLAND—ENTERPRISE OF STIRLING—WILLIAM KNOLLYS IN SCOTLAND—MISSION OF M. D'ESNEVAL—NEGOTIATIONS BETWIXT ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND—MARY AT CHARTLEY—HER LETTER TO WALSINGHAM—THE BAD STATE OF HER HEALTH—CONTAGION AT CHARTLEY—LEAGUE BETWIXT ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND—INTRIGUES OF WALSINGHAM—MORGAN—GIFFORD—BALLARD—BABINGTON—PROGRESS OF THE CONSPIRATORS—DISCOVERY OF THE CONSPIRACY—ARREST OF THE GUILTY—MARY STUART REMOVED FROM CHARTLEY—SEIZURE OF HER PAPERS—LETTER FROM ELIZABETH TO PAULET—A BAPTISM.

THE affair of Throckmorton, and especially that of Parry, had made Elizabeth's government suspicious. The Earls of Arundel and Northumberland soon felt the effects of it. The first, after a somewhat dissolute waste of giddy youth, had been, by severe trials, brought back to more honourable conduct. His wife, a fervent Catholic, from whom he had been estranged for a long time, had just been imprisoned on account of her convictions, and the grief which that caused him drew him to Catholicism. Already charged, truly or falsely, with being mixed up in various plots, he was closely watched in his own house. His misfortunes, following closely on one another, made him think seriously, and he attributed them to his delay in changing his religion, and accepted them as coming from God. He then openly embraced Catholicism.

That step displeased Elizabeth, and gave his enemies new pretexts to accuse him. There was only one way to shun the danger, and that was to flee as soon as possible to the Continent, and wait there till passions cooled down. Arundel, with regret, made up his mind to go. Before starting, he sent to Elizabeth an eloquent letter, in which he went over all that he had done to obtain her good graces, the dangers which he had run in her service, the slanders against him, his own disgrace, that of his father and grandfather, both victims, though innocent, of a successful intrigue, but when he came to think of the sad state of his poor wife, he had to give way to grief. "So many miseries," said he, "have brought me to this, that I cannot live without risking my salvation,

and that I cannot save my soul without exposing my days." He besought Elizabeth to pardon his convictions, and not crush him with her anger, but to accept fresh pledges of his fidelity.¹

Without waiting for a reply, he set sail, and already felt free upon the dancing waves, when, in the offing, he saw two sails making all speed towards his ship. Fright seized him when they turned out to be the vessels of a pirate called Kelloway, who was in the pay of England. The crew surrendered after a short resistance, and Arundel, wounded, was taken to London, and shut up in the Tower. He had been betrayed by his servants, and by the pilot who steered him, and his arrest on the open sea had been planned even before he sailed. When before the Commission, he defended himself, with so much clearness and truthfulness, that his accusers stood abashed. The charge rested principally on a letter said to be written by the Earl, in which he spoke of coming at the head of a numerous army to dethrone Elizabeth. The Earl boldly denied the authorship of the letter, and Walsingham got so puzzled in trying to explain the origin of the writing, that the Commissioners, ashamed of the fraud, made no further allusion to it. But the ruin of Arundel had been determined upon, and the astute minister, confused at having been caught in the act of forging, brought him to the Star-Chamber, and accused him of contumacy, he having left England without leave, and written to banished persons. He was fined in the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling, and condemned to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure. His brother and sister shared his confinement.

The Countess having given birth to a son, craved leave soon after to see the prisoner; she was punished for her boldness, and as if, in those times of discord and treachery, it was a crime to love one another, Elizabeth, with a refinement of cruelty hard to imagine, turned, into tortures, the sweetest affections, friendship, motherhood and even marriage itself, all which, God, in His goodness, has granted as blessings to poor humanity. The Earl was treated with the utmost rigour, and kept in prison all his life.²

On learning the mishap which had just befallen that descendant of Norfolk, Mary could not refrain from tears; she wrote at once to the Countess a letter of condolence and encouragement: "Right truly and well beloved cousin," said she, "we have been informed of your injuries and afflictions, no doubt much increased by those that have happened to your husband, who is so dear to us; nor should we have

¹ Camden III., 398; Lingard.

MS. Life of Philip Howard, quoted in Lingard.

been the last to signify the same to you, had an opportunity presented, of which we have most unworthily and wrongfully been deprived. We have felt great grief on the one side from your afflictions, and comfort on the other, to understand the godly constancy in both of you, for the defence of our faith and religion, a matter for all good Christians to hold in precious remembrance. You have been lights of faith and honour to guide the weaker brethren, and to recover others by your godly example, who, through malice or ignorance, have declined from our faith."¹

Arundel had just been condemned, when the Earl of Northumberland, held prisoner in the Tower for more than a year, and without trial, left his prison for a better world. He was a Catholic, and for that crime was put to death within a few steps of the Earl of Arundel's cell (20th June). They tried to prove him a conspirator, but failed, and after his death it was noised abroad that he had committed suicide, but the pains taken to make people believe that, raised doubts, and an enquiry into the facts showed that it was false. That crime lies at the door of Christopher Hatton, one of Elizabeth's favourites.²

Misfortunes never come singly. Castelnau, who had all along pleaded with success the cause of the captive Queen, was on the point of leaving England. Mary was thus to sustain a great loss; she had received him on his arrival with a certain reserve; but the loyal conduct of the ambassador had, little by little, removed her suspicions, and a sincere friendship had sprung up betwixt them. Mary had consented to be the god-mother of his daughter; Castelnau, on his side, appreciated the noble qualities of the Queen of Scots; every detail of her sad life was known to him, as the captive kept nothing from him. So many ties to be broken off at a moment when the future looked so gloomy, grieved not only the ambassador, but also his interesting *protégée*. But he must obey, for he had been recalled to France where it was meant to employ him otherwise; and if he was allowed so long a stay in England, it was only, through exceptional favour, on account of his wife. The Sieur de Châteauneuf, who was to take his place, had been made ambassador in November of the preceding year.³

Mary was not ungrateful to Castelnau. He found in France hearts

¹ Mary Stuart to the Countess of Arundel, 30th July.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 190.

² Mendoza to Philip II., 16th July.—Teulet, V., 343. Sir Walter Raleigh to

Cecil.—Murdin's Papers, 811; Camden, III., 400.

³ Castelnau de Mauvissière to the King, 14th November.—Teulet, III., 320, 321.

quite ready to welcome and thank him; the Court and the League were biassed in his favour. "I most affectionately commend him to you," wrote Mary to the Queen of France, "as a gentleman to whom I am much indebted for the services which he has done me in all my affairs. I hope, that loving me as you do, you will show him how far my influence can command you."¹ The Duke de Guise about the same time received a letter, and then another, full of the most flattering praises of the ambassador, and begging thanks and protection for him, and the bailiwick of Vitry as a reward for his services.²

Elizabeth, now rid of Castelnau whose watchfulness had never wearied,³ laid a snare for James VI. by sending him as ambassador, Edward Wotton. The envoy could not be better chosen. He was sprightly, and very witty, while, beneath that seeming mirth, he was knavish to the highest degree. When twenty years of age he nearly led astray the old constable de Montmorency. He was to make pretence only of diverting and keeping the young King company, but in reality was to try to overthrow the Earl of Arran who had abandoned the policy of England, as hastily as he had embraced it, eighteen months before. He soon betrayed his true colours on a rather important occasion.

For some time past James had thoughts of marrying a Danish Princess. Ambassadors had been sent by the King of Denmark to Edinburgh on that grave matter. Wotton managed so well that the Danish envoys were received in the most uncivil manner; he spoke of them as ridiculous personages, and had them scoffed-at and insulted by the people. Not satisfied with a success so complete, he allowed his "thwart disnatured mind" to assert in presence of even James VI., that the King of Denmark, sprung from a race of merchants, deserved no consideration. Those words addressed to a King, so thoughtless as was the King of Scotland, had the desired effect; the ambassadors did not get the audience which they asked, being put off with excuses, and getting only mock promises. It took all Melville's skill to make James see his error, and shun a shameful quarrel. Wotton, in those circumstances, did not rest satisfied with one bad deed. While at Court he drew a grotesque picture of the ambassadors, and of their country. He urged the poor Danes to break off the negotiation, showing that the conduct of James was very offensive towards their King,

¹ Marie Stuart à la Reine Louise de France, 15th August.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 208.

² Mary Stuart to the Duke de Guise, 15th August.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 209, 210.

³ He had managed to foresee most of the events in Scotland.—See Teulet; State Papers, passim.

offering them money, and making endless protestations of devotedness and thousands of promises which he did not mean to keep. If, at a later period, the ambassadors were better treated and allowed to depart with some magnificence, it was against the will of the English envoy, and in spite of his efforts.¹

Wotton centred his attention on the Earl of Arran, and strove to overthrow him, to the profit of the Master of Gray. An event which no one could have foreseen served him wonderfully in that second enterprise.

The Laird of Fernyhirst, a great friend and near relative of the Earl of Arran, had had an interview with the Governor of the English Marches. At that meeting there arose a difference between the English and Scots about an Englishman taken, in the act of stealing, by Fernyhirst's men. From words they came to blows, and the son of the Earl of Bedford, more eager, perhaps, than the rest, was mortally wounded. Elizabeth pretended to see only foul play in the murder; she laid the blame on the Earl of Arran, and enjoined the King of Scotland to place in her power the Laird of Fernyhirst and the Earl, his relative. Owing to that misfortune, Arran was for a time obliged to leave the Court, and withdraw to his estates. Wotton took advantage of his absence to supplant him beside the King; he joined his efforts to those of the Master of Gray, Bellenden and Maitland:² but, strange though it be, the feeble James VI. remained firm in that friendship. That resistance saved the Earl, for, during the misunderstanding, Wotton, accused of having urged the Scottish rebels, living in England, to return home, was obliged to give up the attack so as to justify himself. Unable to do so on account of the facts already known, he tried to take the person of the King by surprise; but his plans were laid open, and the traitor, forced to flee from punishment, retired to Berwick.³

That check gave spirit to the refugees, and forced them to act quickly, as much for their own interest as for that of England. Arran, having returned to Court, levied troops, sent orders, provisioned the forts, and prepared for a desperate struggle. When the rebels crossed the borders, he thought he could cope with them. His despair equalled his astonishment when he saw that none of his orders, given with so much

¹ Melville's *Memoirs*, 335, 338; Moyse's *Memoirs*, 96, 97.

² They proposed "to separat the King from his ambitious and leud Minion the Earle of Arran, and his lady, a lasciuious viccked

woman, and one blunderd of witchcrafte."—Balfour's *Annales*, I., 383.

³ Moyse's *Memoirs*, 96 sq.; Prince Labanoff, VI., 226, 231.

wisdom, had been executed. He saw with surprise that those around him had sold themselves to the English, and that his orders were not carried out, but that they were stopped, tampered with, or sent only as information for the rebels, by Gray and others of his party. The exiles, supported by the gold of England, the counsels of Wotton and the entreaties of their fellow-countrymen, advanced with all the more assurance; they were at St Ninians, in sight of Stirling, before the Earl had time to look about him. The day after, he was in flight, the town occupied, and the Castle invested. James, powerless to defend himself, surrendered to the rebels, who took the chief strongholds of the kingdom, obtained from the King a pardon, which they had ratified by Parliament; and Scotland passed, without any shock, under another rule. Arran, ruined at one blow, and declared guilty of high treason, never rose again.¹

One may imagine the grief which Mary felt on hearing of the fresh attempt against the person of her son. Sir Amyas told her of it, likely in obedience to his Sovereign, with all possible details, and an intention which did not escape the prisoner. "That news," she said, "has indeed had the effect which you aimed at in telling me so hastily, namely,—to load me with sorrow upon sorrow, as much in mind as in body, without any pity for me in the serious weakness to which the rigours of this prison have at length reduced me. But what grieves me most is to see myself entirely debarred from bringing any remedy for this misfortune, being bound hand and foot, with hardly anything left me but my voice, and it, scarce strong enough to bewail to God a treatment so cruel and so inhuman; deprived moreover of all other news of Christendom, whence I might receive the least consolation in the world."² She threw all the blame of it on Elizabeth. "She can reap," continued she, "only dishonour and a great burden to her conscience, by thus allowing her own blood to be ruined, and this kingdom to be defrauded of its true and legitimate heirs, it being her duty, and in her power, to remedy it. If, being immortal, she were to enjoy for ever this crown, or had to make sure of it for her own issue, such proceedings might be thought politic; but, seeing that she secures her reign for herself as long as God may please to let her live, I cannot understand for what others after her, she wishes to burden her conscience so heavily, by depriving us of right and life."³

¹ Gray's Relation concerning the Surprise of the King at Stirling; Bannat. Miscel., I., 133-139. Mémoire du Baron d'Esneval; Teulet, IV., 53 sq.; Prince Labanoff, VI., 232; Sanderson, 107 sq.

² Mary Stuart to Châteauneuf, 8th Dec.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 237.

³ The same to the same.—VI., 241.

The negotiations between England and Scotland gained fresh vigour when the government of James VI. was strengthened. William Knollys replaced Wotton at the Court of Scotland, and, from the very first, had great success. Henry III., informed of the situation, and fearing that the old alliance between France and Scotland might die out during his reign, slowly made up his mind to interfere. He sent to Scotland, Baron d'Esneval, a gentleman of his chamber, with express orders to oppose any treaty with England, and another order, less important, which bound him to enlighten the King by wise counsels, and advise him to be lenient towards the English refugees.¹ Claud Hamilton pledged himself to support him in his enterprise.² Baron d'Esneval certainly displayed skill and showed tact in that important mission, and if he did not gain any signal success, the reason must be assigned only to the unfortunate circumstances in which he was placed. The conspirators in power; the Earl of Arran in flight; Montrose, Crawford and their friends, in prison; the former party conquered, scattered and ruined; that great disaster following close upon the highest power, made the second part of his mission useless. Here, however, notice that, on the other hand, matters had gone too far to try openly to break off the alliance in view between the two insular powers: the French envoy was obliged therefore to be content with secretly delaying a league which he could not hinder.³

The year 1586 began under an aspect somewhat threatening from England. Peace imposed upon Scotland; Flanders kept on the alert, in spite of the influence of the Duke of Parma; Ireland humbled; La Rochelle relieved; Denmark and Navarre attached to England by common interests; France weakened by the League; Spain busy defending herself in Portugal against false pretenders, and replanting her devastated colonies; the Queen of Scots more closely confined; her friends intimidated; and over and above all, the widely spread system of spies got up by Walsingham,—forced Europe to be careful not to wound the feelings of the English government. Elizabeth could say in looking at her work, "I have conquered Europe, and I defy her efforts." She owed that prosperity, no doubt, to the skill of her conduct, but especially to the misunderstandings of her enemies. Had France and Spain, united by faith, been of one mind, and, instead of defending themselves in partial and exhausting struggles, had they attacked England and

¹ Instructions given to M. d'Esneval.—Teulet, IV., 1-13.

² Various State Papers.—Teulet, IV., 13-34; V., 351.

³ Prince Labanoff, VI., 251, 257, 265, 270; VII., 185.

helped the Irish Catholics, as Elizabeth supported the Protestants on the Continent, it would have been all over with England. France would have been at peace on her own soil; Spain in Flanders and in her colonies; Scotland, ruled by her Queen, would have sided with the Catholics; Ireland would have gained her emancipation; and England, reduced to her feeble resources, would have been totally overthrown, in spite of the skill of her ministers. Neither Spain nor France did anything of the kind, and England, making the most of the quarrels in the neighbouring states, was enabled to remain quiet and prosperous in her island home.

Matters did not, however, always go on to the liking of Elizabeth; far from it. Mary was to her a source of endless fears. She was a banner ever raised, around which the malcontents rallied. Outside, her armies gained only feeble advantages; but what her government lost in battles, it regained by the deep shrewdness of its agents. If misfortune came on one side, that side was left in darkness, so as not to damp the spirits of the people, and imaginary victories were even occasionally reported. A striking example of that, was seen when Leicester undertook the expedition to the Low Countries. The illustrious favourite achieved no brilliant success there, and in fact defended himself rather less than became his honour; he was, nevertheless, appointed Governor-General of the united provinces, and loudly cheered. The expedition, however, which he commanded, was so unfortunate that the ministers devised in London brilliant despatches, which they presented in his name to Elizabeth.¹

The only place, whence England could be attacked with any chance of success, was Scotland. As long as the island was free from foreign troops, the English government had nothing to fear. That consideration made it leave no stone unturned to bring about a league between the two nations, under pretext of the dangers which threatened the common religion;² but as James VI. had not exactly the same views nor the same interests, he received Elizabeth's proposals somewhat coldly. It by no means entered into his plans to support Protestantism, whose ministers he hated. He had often seen himself forced to banish the most seditious; but the fury of dogmatising and criticising, continually revived the same disorders. Not satisfied with insulting the Earl of Arran, and foreboding for him the fate of Ahab, and for his wife, that of Jezebel, they often inveighed against the sovereign himself, and called down on his head the threats formerly

¹ Lingard's History of England.

² Baron d'Esneval to James VI., March 1586.—Teulet, IV., 25.

launched against Jeroboam, asserting, in the name of heaven, that he should die childless, the last of his race.¹

Those mad exaggerations of fanaticism, received, at first, with fear and trembling, brought, in the end, derision and contempt on the ministers. Conversions to Catholicism multiplied, while threats and persecution were used to check the movement. Many rich lords preferred the loneliness of prison to the shame of apostasy.² The old creed, which was thought extinct, burned again throughout all Scotland. The opposition, with which it had been met, added to its importance, and gave it new followers. The Catholics no longer hid themselves, but, proud of their number, thought of regaining, by arms, the liberty of conscience snatched from them by the Protestants.³ People feared lest the war of religion, which already ravaged the rest of Europe, should break out in Scotland with more violence than elsewhere. Had the King of France given the Scots the help which they asked,⁴ instead of advising an impossible peace, Scotland would have been again an energetic ally, and an obstacle would have been opposed to the invasions from England. The crafty policy of Catherine de Médicis disdained such simple means, and was as useful in ruining Catholicism in Scotland as the bitter fierceness of the Protestant lords. The old religion continued to be persecuted, and Catholic influence obtained the release of only one man, Lord Maxwell, the new Earl of Morton, who had been sent to prison for having mass publicly sung in Dumfries.⁵ Such a result was equal to a check, for the Protestants again took the offensive, and two months later they flocked from the heart of Scotland to help their co-religionists on the continent.⁶ Forsaken by France, who ought to have supported them in her own interest, the Scots cast their looks towards Spain, hoping for better support. Contrary to his wont, Philip II. lavished encouragements, but kept very sluggish. The Duke de Guise, alone, made some figure in that universal abandonment.⁷

While a silly policy forsook its own resources, and allowed violent passions to have the upper hand, Elizabeth was quickly gaining her hidden end: Mary Stuart's ruin. The poor captive was then at

¹ Spottiswoode's History, II., 335. The Earl of Morton to the King of Spain, 20th May.—Teulet V., 353.

² The Archbishop of Glasgow to Mary Stuart, 21st March 1586.—Prince Labanoff, VII., 189, 190.

³ Various Spanish State Papers.—Teulet, V., 347, 349, 352 sq.

⁴ Henry III. to Baron d'Esneval, 18th and 30th April.—Teulet, IV., 38, 39.

⁵ Henry III. to Baron d'Esneval.—Teulet, IV., 41. Prince Labanoff, VII., 189.

⁶ Baron d'Esneval to James VI.—Teulet, IV., 45 sq.

⁷ Various State Papers.—Teulet, V., 349-369.

Chartley, in the keeping of the harsh Sir Amyas Paulet, in a miserable position, bereft of hope and in need of the common comforts of life, and asking, as a favour, that some servants should be allowed to come to her from France. "I therefore beg of you affectionately," she wrote to Walsingham, "as in most things concerning my condition you have always promised to do me good service, whereof you have till now honourably acquitted yourself, so on this occasion, befitting alike the honour of your mistress and my convenience, confirm the debt I owe you for all the past."¹ Her health was wretched; she was weak, half crippled, and often obliged to keep her bed. "That is," she said, "the inheritance which I have earned during seventeen years of a confinement, which, I fear, may end only with my life," then added with fervour, "I pray God, however, to grant me the necessary patience for that."²

To make matters worse, an epidemic visited Chartley. Mary's servants fell ill one after another, and she was grieved to see the place of her captivity turned into a hospital. A prey to fear, she wrote to Walsingham, asked him for relief, and told him of the fears of her physicians, and of the danger of her whole household. She waited in vain, receiving neither answer nor comfort, and was kept till the end in the midst of the contagion. If the future had not explained, it must have been a question, for ever, why Elizabeth was so cruel. Mary was indeed doomed. Solitude reigned around her. Her son, led away by ambition or ruled by parties, thought of her only at long intervals, and took more pains to please Elizabeth than to comfort his mother. The league with England was being actively carried out, notwithstanding the coldness of the king at first. The day it was signed, there was general displeasure among the partisans of the old French alliance, and Mary Stuart was astounded to find that her name was not even mentioned in a treaty of so much consequence.³ That league was her death warrant.⁴

¹ Mary Stuart to Walsingham, 21st January 1586.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 256.

² Mary Stuart to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 31st March 1586.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 268.

³ Various State Papers.—Teulet, IV., 49, 55; Prince Labanoff, VI., 372; Rymer, VI., iv., 185.

⁴ The Master of Gray wrote to Archibald Douglas: "His (young King's) opinion is that it cannot stand with his honour that he be a consentir to tak his mother's lyf, bot he is content how strictly she be keipit, and all hir auld knaifish servantis heingit, chiefly they who be

in handis." That shameful letter, written from Dunfermline, 8th September 1586, is printed in Murdin's Collection and in Gray's Papers, 107. In another letter, written on the 29th, the following revolting passage may be read: "For his mother, his command is you do as he gave your nephew Richard instruction. I can asshur you he is content the law go fordwart, her life being save, and would gladly vische that all foraine Princess should know how evil she had usit herself towardis the Q. Majestie thair, and that she resaveis favour through her clemencie."—Gray's letter to Arch.

Though free from dread of Scotland, Walsingham conceived and carried out the most treacherous and shameful plot in history ; he himself led the Catholics to conspire against the life of Elizabeth ; he managed to implicate the Queen of Scots, that he might be able to massacre, with seeming justice, the royal prisoner and her defenders. His spies filled the ports, towns and even seminaries. Well paid for intriguing, they sought only to drive the Catholics to extremities by hypocritical wailings, to denounce them afterwards, and, more surely, bring about their ruin. Their task was in general, not difficult ; for if some exiles were rather guarded in speech, others soured by their wrongs, unbosomed themselves, thinking they were among friends. The one of them who played the most important part, and contributed most to ruin Mary and her partisans, was Gilbert Gifford, a priest—in truth, anything, at the nod of Walsingham. He had ingratiated himself with Morgan and the other exiles,¹ feigned great zeal for Mary Stuart, undertook to hand her their letters, and fetch answers from her, and that, without danger to anyone. Morgan was the first to fall into the snare ; he, a fervent Catholic, never fancied that a priest of his own religion could be guilty of betraying him. Accredited by the same Morgan, to Mary Stuart, Gifford displayed rare treachery in his mission. No letter reached his hands, which was not at once handed to Walsingham, deciphered, resealed and sent on.

Thanks to such aid, the letters of the exiles passed, to and fro, more rapidly. They came, one after the other, to Chartley, and answers were, at once, sent back. Gifford then made himself known to Châteauneuf, and, so thoroughly deceived him by fine words, offers of service, and especially by letters of recommendation which he showed, that the ambassador entrusted to him the many secret papers which his predecessor, Castelnau, was unable to send off.² Those papers were handed to Walsingham, deciphered by Phelipps, and sent back to Mary who, unaware that he was a traitor, had blessed him from the depths of her prison. His vaunted faithfulness, his rank, and his anxiety, that the despatches should safely reach the Queen, kept her from suspecting him, and throwing him aside as a spy. He had bribed a neighbouring brewer, a purveyor to the castle. Every week the brewer brought a

Douglas, 29th September 1586, in Murdin, and in Gray's Papers, 3. It is worthy of remark that Mary Stuart's trial had not yet begun, when they were busy, in London, trying to fathom the mind of James VI. The King probably knew nothing of that miserable cor-

respondence. Cf. Gray's Papers, 113, 148, and especially 150.

¹ Mendoça to Philip II., 13th August.—Teulet V., 372.

² Various letters. Prince Labanoff, VI., 278-337, especially 313, 323, 334, and VII., 177.

supply of beer to Chartley, and passed in the despatches in a case placed in a barrel; the Queen's butler took out the case, and a week after, the brewer came for his casks, and took away the answers. Both Walsingham and Paulet, having an understanding with the false emissary, winked at that unfair course.

A success so un hoped for, and yet so complete, encouraged the Catholics, and made them more daring. At that time, another emissary went through England, examined the country, enquired about the resources of the soil, the minds of the inhabitants and their dispositions, and paved the way for a great invasion. He usually wore the brilliant dress of an officer, took the name of Fortescue, although he was a priest named Ballard, and no one would ever have suspected his mission, had he not unbosomed himself to his friend, who was at the same time a spy, in the pay of Walsingham.¹

Intrigue and treason had gone thus far, when Gifford, joining his counsels to the already vehement ardour of the Catholics, gave to the conspiracy, by advising the assassination of Elizabeth, an impetus which became fatal to it.² That idea, already broached by the Duke de Guise, gave fresh courage. An officer, just returned from the wars in Flanders, thought well of the rash scheme, and soon got six other gentlemen, equally bold, to take part in it. The most famous of them all is celebrated in history, as he gave his name to the conspiracy; he was called Babington, a young man of noble birth, and one who deserved a better fate. With the enthusiasm of youth, Babington rushed headlong into the path of conspiracy. He often assembled his friends, dined with them, and rejoiced and gloried beforehand in being Elizabeth's conqueror. Letters which he believed he held direct from the Queen of Scots, inflamed his imagination: he had a picture painted of himself and his companions, taking as legend what, without any other document, must have ruined them: *hi mihi sunt comites quos ipsa pericula ducunt*. Gifford let Walsingham know of those secret dealings in England, while Maude, informed of the plans of Morgan and Lord Paget on the continent, followed on his side, a similar line of conduct.

When Babington, a few days later (16th July) drew nearer to Chartley, the more quickly to interchange letters with the captive, Gifford's mission became needless. Walsingham found only one way of thwarting the plans of the conspirators, and that was by sending

¹ Relacion de las Provincias de Inglaterra y Estado de ellas, Archives de l'Empire.— Liasse B. 57, No. 69, and Teulet; Udall's History, 330.

² Dargaud, Histoire de Marie Stuart, 378.

Gregory and Phelipps to Chartley, and getting them to decipher on the spot, the forged correspondence. Phelipps' arrival made Mary uneasy: he was received with honour, magnificently treated, and seemed to act in perfect freedom at Chartley. The captive, however, soon recovered her peace of mind, thinking that he was sent, perhaps, to take the place of Sir Amyas Paulet, whose health was much shaken. She, nevertheless, wrote about it to Morgan, and gave him the description of that individual, so as to learn if he was the same Phelipps who had formerly been recommended to her.¹ That seeker out of intrigues did not gain much; but he made up for it by cunning, and was enabled to write to Walsingham (24th July). "We attend her very heart in the next."²

Intrigue had had its day, and Babington was not so blinded by zeal as not to notice that his secret was disclosed; by whom, he knew not, but he kept reserved, drew near to Walsingham, offered his services to the minister as a spy on the continent, and succeeded in getting a passport for the priest Ballard. Walsingham played with the false spy as he had done with the real conspirator. Ballard was arrested before sailing, and imprisoned as a Catholic priest. That discovery blighted the hopes which Babington might still have of escaping; he was astounded, yet he had strength enough left, to go and ask his pardon from Walsingham, and intercede in favour of the priest, though he well knew that Ballard had been arrested—not as a priest, but as a conspirator. Walsingham's answer was a refusal. Then hope died, and an unspeakable sadness took hold of the young conspirator: he began to see, with growing fright, the abyss of his own making, yawning at his feet: Walsingham knew all his plans, while Elizabeth, too, was aware of them, and what he had thought hidden under a thick veil, had come to light. His plans were known: they had been revealed by traitors.

When he found out that he had been fooled by low spies, his pride again gained strength, and heedless of danger, he wrote the most bitter letter ever penned, to Pooley, who had betrayed him. He upheld his own doings, but poured out on the head of that wretch, a torrent of abuse, which seemed already to mark him for the lower world.³

The arrest and imprisonment of Ballard reminded Babington that he must flee, while it spread terror among his companions. Closely watched by Walsingham's spies, he could no longer go about freely: he was a prisoner in the capital. He chose a dark night to make his

¹ Mary Stuart to Thomas Morgan, 17th July.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 421 sq.

² Phelipps to Walsingham, July 14th.—Tytler's History, IV., 124.

³ The letter is printed in Lingard's App.

escape, and for a long time wandered about in St John's Wood, where he was met by Gage, Charnock, Donne and Barnewell. He had baffled the police hounds; they went to the minister, and told him how the conspirators had slipped away. Walsingham, not less anxious, but more irritated, made known the names of the conspirators, and forbade any ship in the harbour to put to sea without first giving him notice.

No one in England had yet heard of the conspiracy, so Walsingham's proclamation startled the nation. Anxiety was boundless; rumours were afloat that the capital was about to be burnt, the Queen assassinated, and England invaded;¹ that the Papists were masters of the situation, and that French and Spanish troops were on their way. As usually happens in such circumstances, people were found who gave all the details, named the lords engaged, the provinces roused by Romish fanaticism, and said that Gregory XIII. had promised, beforehand, absolution to him who should kill Elizabeth;² all shed tears over so deplorable an event, and were in a state of great uneasiness. Some sails, sighted off the Isle of Wight, increased the fears two-fold; there was now no mistake about it; the great Catholic fleet was making for London. Signals of alarm were sounded; the peasants rose and sought a chief to lead them; the dreadful news spread through the length and breadth of England with lightning speed, and called forth powerful echoes in the northern provinces.³ Châteauneuf was insulted, and the Catholics, dismayed by tumult and threats, turned all their thoughts to flight.⁴

Those false reports, while gathering the people in large crowds in the public squares, left the fugitives comparative freedom in the wood whither they had retired; but hunger forced them to leave their shelter. They gained Harrow by night, and were fortunate enough to find a family kind and well disposed towards them; but they were seized in an outbuilding over against the garden, and led to London in safety. Their arrival caused as much joy as their project had caused alarm. The peasants followed them singing psalms: on all sides bonfires burned and bells rang, as on great solemnities, telling England that she might at last breathe freely.⁵

¹ Arnould to Courcelles, 26th August, State Paper Office, Mary, Queen of Scots; Godfrey Goodman, the Court of King James, I., 131.

² A. Tyrell's Confession to Lord Burghley. State Paper Office, Mary, Queen of Scots.

³ Mendoça to Philip II., 26th September.—

Teulet, V., 395; M. Chéruef, Marie Stuart et Catherine de Médicis, 380, 381.

⁴ Mémoire du Baron d'Esneval.—Teulet, IV., 56, 57. About thirty were shut up in the Tower.—Arnould to Courcelles, 26th August.—State Paper Office.

⁵ Camden, III., 441; Various State Papers.—Teulet, V., 389 sq.

Mary, locked up in the castle, under the rigid keeping of Paulet, was ignorant of all those events, and if there was a change in the manner of her keepers, it was only an increase of severity. Paulet, throwing aside all respect for her rank, treated her as neither a Queen nor a free person, but as a strict prisoner. "He is," the Queen of Scots said of him, "one of the most strange and sullen men that I have ever seen, and, in a word, more fitted for a gaoler of criminals than for the keeping of one of my rank and quality. I am at present held in gaol rather than in princely captivity, in truth, in a way too severe for me, and worse than any I might by right of war or otherwise expect."¹ She attributed the excessive severity, to Paulet's attachment to the Puritan sect.² "For the rest," she said, in speaking of the same Paulet, "I esteem him a very honest gentleman, and a very faithful servant of his mistress."³

That unaccountable severity was torture to her; she looked into the future, only with gloomy forebodings; it seemed to her that her life was linked with that of Elizabeth, and that the death of the Queen of England would be the knell for hers too. "If anything happened to the Queen of England," she wrote to Châteauneuf, "I should deem my life very unsafe in the hands of my host."⁴ In that life of sorrow and anguish, Mary always fell back upon Elizabeth, and wished to live at peace with her. "I hoped," she said, "that I might have the satisfaction to spend the short time I have yet to live in the intimacy which I have always sought to create between her and me. But, alas! I much fear that we are so widely severed already that we cannot again be on the same friendly terms, however much I may strive to do good for evil; and I dare say, truly, that my enemies are not yet satisfied either with my great sufferings or with my long imprisonment, during which I have never had any rest for mind or body."⁵

Early on the morning of the 18th of August, Mary received a visit from her keeper, Paulet, who invited her to be one of a hunting party in the neighbourhood. Mary accepted the invitation with pleasure, set out from Chartley accompanied by Nau and Curle, her secretaries, and some other persons, for she was glad to have at last a day of freedom. At a short distance from the castle she met Thomas Georges, an envoy of Walsingham,

¹ Mary Stuart to M. de Châteauneuf, July 1586.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 370, 376.

² Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 16th July.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 381.

³ Mary Stuart to Châteauneuf.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 376.

⁴ Mary Stuart to Châteauneuf, 13th July.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 370.

⁵ Mary Stuart to Châteauneuf, July 1586.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 379.

who, without further preliminaries, told her that Babington's conspiracy was discovered, and that, in consequence, he had orders to take her at once to Tixall, and, that deeds might be stronger proofs of the truth of that than words, he arrested her two secretaries, who were led to London.¹ Mary, enraged at so great an insult, called on those around to defend her, but, feeling herself powerless, she allowed herself to be taken to Tixall;² there, in obedience to Elizabeth's orders, she was shut up in a small room, without pen or paper, and saw around her only strange faces: her servants had been removed, and she was all at once put among strangers, whose heartless air seemed to hide some mystery. It was a terrible blow for her. The thought of the conspiracy, and the removal of her servants—thrown into prison, perhaps, on her account—made her stay unbearable.

While she bewailed her fate, Thomas Waad, of the Privy Council, was busy ransacking her room at Chartley. The closets and trunks were forced open, and her papers and jewels seized: everything was taken from her.³

After that base robbery, it was thought meet to bring Mary back to her former residence. When she left Tixall, the poor, who followed her in numbers, invoking her as if she was a deity, made their way through her escort, to ask alms. "Alas!" exclaimed Mary, weeping, "I have nothing for you: all has been taken from me; I am as much a beggar as yourselves." Just as she got into her carriage she noticed Sir Walter Aston, owner of the castle, and several other gentlemen who were to form part of her escort: "Good gentlemen," said she to them, "I am innocent. God is my witness that I have never practised against the Queen my sister's life."⁴

When she reached Chartley, she would not take the keys, and asked one of those who were with her to open her closet. When she saw what had been done, she remembered she was a Queen, and instead of reproaching Paulet, merely said to him with dignity, "There are yet two things, sir, which cannot be taken from me: my blood, which gives me the right of accession to the throne of England; and the other is my religion."⁵

¹ *Mendoça to Philip II.*, 10th September.—*Teulet*, V., 391.

² *Miss Strickland's Life of Queen Mary*, V., 408.

³ *Mémoire du Baron d'Esneval*, *Teulet*, IV., 57. *Mendoça to Philip II.*, 26th Sept.; *idem*, V., 395. *Prince Labanoff*, VI., 437.

⁴ *Letters of Sir Amyas Paulet*, quoted in *Miss Strickland*, V., 411. *Tytler*, IV., 132. *Chalmers*, II., 160.

⁵ *Paulet to Walsingham*, 27th August; *Chalmers*, II., 160, and at the State Paper Office.

In spite of his care and diligence, Waad had left, untouched, in the Queen's room, a small cabinet of drawers. That oversight did not escape her keeper. Sure that Mary Stuart's money was kept there, Sir Amyas wrote in all haste to Walsingham, asking him what he ought to do. He was told to open the cabinet and take the money, which, in his opinion, could be of service to enrich traitors only. To gain that point, he sought the help of one Richard Bagot, a magistrate in the neighbourhood, and they, heedless of the sickly state of the prisoner, ordered her to open the cabinet. "After many denyalls," wrote Paulet to Walsingham, "manye exclamacions, and manye bitter woords against you (I say nothing of her rayling against my self), with flat affirmacion that her Ma^{te} might have her bodye but her hart she should never have, refusing to delyver the kaye of her cabinet, I called my servants, and sent for barres to breake open the dore, whereupon she yelded, and caused the dore to be opened."¹ Paulet seized the money which Mary kept so carefully in reserve, and would give her back, only as much as was needed to pay her servants' arrears of wages. He then, with barbarous rigour, sent away the Queen's household, thinking he was doing his duty, and leaving to others the task to "excuse their foolishe pitye as they may." He said, with a satisfaction which I cannot easily understand, "I thanke God with all my hart, as for a singular blessing, that yt falleth out so well, fearing least a contrarye successe might have moved some hard conceits in her Majestie."²

Mary Stuart was doomed ;³ there was hesitation now only as to the way of getting rid of her. Leicester insisted that the best way was by poison, and noiselessly ; others held an opposite view, and wished a public trial and execution.⁴ Elizabeth meanwhile wrote to Paulet a letter, which the discreet gaoler has kept for us as his defence in case of need. "My Amyas, my faithful servant," said she, "may God reward you for doing so well the hard task set you ! If you knew, my dear Amyas, how grateful I am to you for the trouble taken by you, and for your firm and loyal conduct, your heart would be glad ; no treasure, in my opinion, can pay for such fidelity. Yes, I should deserve to be forsaken when I most need help were I not to acknowledge your services by a reward *non omnibus datum*."⁵

¹ Paulet to Walsingham, 10th Sept. ; Ellis, I., iii., 7.

² Paulet to Walsingham ; Ellis, I., iii., 9.

³ It had been agreed upon even before the conspiracy. Herrera, *Historia de lo Succedido*

en Escocia y Inglaterra, 133 sq. Blackwood, *Œuvres Complètes*, 656, 657.

⁴ Spottiswoode, II., 349 ; Chalmers, II., 161.

⁵ Elizabeth to Paulet ; Strype, III., 361. Tytler's Inquiry. Lingard's History.

That letter, of which I give only an abridgement, for I loathe to transcribe it, was dictated by the blackest perfidy. Elizabeth, by her fine words, wished to inflame the zeal of Mary Stuart's keeper, and drive him to go further, perhaps, all the while, intending to punish him later on, as she did Davison, to shield her own name. The strict Puritan, more jealous of his honour than of Elizabeth's favours, preserved the letters, and did not act against his conscience.

What a noble contrast ! When Elizabeth encouraged Paulet to be in every way unmerciful to Mary, the latter, forgetting her position and her fearful sorrows, worked out her own salvation, and bestowed on the wife of her secretary, Curle, the most heart-stirring attentions. The poor secretary was a prisoner in London, and his wife bore him a daughter in the sad emergency. Unable to get leave to have the child baptised by a Catholic priest, Mary herself did for the mother the pious service of baptising her daughter. She had a basin brought her, and sprinkling the regenerating water over the head of the tiny babe, gave it, with the sacrament of baptism, her own name.

Paulet, abashed, knew not whether he ought to admire more the condescension or the religion of the heroic Queen.¹

¹ Paulet to Walsingham, 27th August ; State Paper Office, Mary Queen of Scots, XIX.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1586.

A GLANCE INTO THE BABINGTON CONSPIRACY—THE PART TAKEN IN IT BY MARY—INFAMOUS CONDUCT OF WALSINGHAM—PUNISHMENT OF THE CONSPIRATORS—CONFESSIONS OF CURLE AND NAU—LETTER FROM MARY TO THE DUKE DE GUISE—HER REMOVAL TO FOTHERINGAY—COMMISSION OF THE THIRTY-SIX—LETTER FROM ELIZABETH TO MARY—MARY'S PROTESTATION—SHE SUBMITS TO THE COMMISSION—NOBLE DEFENCE OF MARY STUART—REPROACHES ADDRESSED TO WALSINGHAM—ADJOURNMENT OF THE COMMISSION—DEFENCE OF NAU—MARY SENTENCED TO DEATH.

THE Babington conspiracy, which made so great a noise and had such painful consequences, must not be talked of lightly. The manner in which that unhappy affair was managed must be well pondered. Walsingham showed therein a craft hard to conceive: he made use of Catholic conspirators to accuse and ruin Catholic Mary. His task was easy; for it was quite natural that a Queen, held, against all right, a captive for many long years, should give way to hope and encourage those who might try to release her. She was fully justified in so acting; to remain idle in so undeserved a position was to degrade herself, and be wanting in character, if not in honour. Mary felt that thoroughly, and, during her sad captivity, she kept on protesting, at the risk of bringing down upon herself all Elizabeth's fury.

The conspiracy had already been fairly started; Pooley, Lumley, Blunt, Ballard and Babington were all at work, each trying to carry it out,¹ while Mary did not even suspect its existence; as, for a long time past, she had had no news from the Continent.² When she learned that something was being plotted in her favour, she assisted as far as was within her power, and as far as prudence allowed her. She hoped that a Spanish army would come to avenge in England the damages which Drake was doing the colonies of Spain, and, in short, that, thanks to that invasion, she should be set free after eighteen years'

¹ Various papers. — Prince Labanoff, VI., 320, 325, 329, 344. It was not the first time that people acted in favour of the Queen of

Scots, and quite unknown to her.—Cf. Sadler's Papers, II., 347.

² Various Papers.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 313, 323, 326, 331, 334, 349, 351, 356, 359.

imprisonment: all her projects, all her thoughts were centred on that goal.¹

The sight of the calamities which she ever had before her eyes made her wish for a change of position: "Yet," said she, "since it is God's will that I should still suffer, I am ready to give in, and stretch my neck under the yoke and, in my conscience, I do not so much regret this delay for myself as for the misery and affliction in which I have seen and daily see so many good people of this kingdom, for I feel the public calamity more than mine own."² Notwithstanding that angelic resignation, Mary could not forego the thought of regaining her freedom; she liked to dwell on it, and to reckon her chances and means of success. She spoke of it to Babington,³ Francis Englefield,⁴ the Archbishop of Glasgow⁵ and Don Bernard de Mendoza.⁶ In her letter to Babington, she advised those who were to save her, to carry her off when, on a given day, she should be taking a walk between Chartley and Stafford, or to come during the night, and set fire to the barns and stables adjoining the castle, and take advantage of the disorder to open the gates for her, or, in short, to accompany the carts which brought the provisions in the morning, upset them at the entrance to the outer door, seize the castle, and release her by surprise.⁷

There the prisoner's wishes and hopes stopped. The idea of assassinating Elizabeth never could have been formed in her mind. In her correspondence she professes the deepest respect for crowned heads,⁸ great frankness in her relations,⁹ the desire to live on good terms with Elizabeth,¹⁰ and a most scrupulous care for her reputation. According to Spanish documents she, on one occasion, refused even to flee, when she might easily have done so, and her life was in danger,¹¹ rather than forfeit her honour.¹² Unfortunately, that noble-minded Princess, all her

¹ Various letters of Mary.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 313, 407, 431.

² Mary Stuart to Mendoza, 2d July.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 353.

³ Prince Labanoff, VI., 391 sq.

⁴ Idem, VI., 409.

⁵ Idem, VI., 414.

⁶ Idem, VI., 434.

⁷ Mary Stuart to Babington, 17th July.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 393, 394.

⁸ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Cardinal de Lorraine, 9th January 1575.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 252, 253.

⁹ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 20th February 1576.—Prince Labanoff, IV.,

294. The same to the same, 5th January 1585, idem, VI., 78.

¹⁰ Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, 5th Sept. 1579.—Prince Labanoff, V., 104. The same to James VI., 16th April 1582, idem, V., 294. Mary Stuart to Castelnau de Mauvissière, 28th January 1584, idem, V., 416 sq.—Mémoire de Nau, idem, VII., 200, 204; Corresp. diplom., II., 349.

¹¹ Mémoire de Nau.—Prince Labanoff, VII., 203.

¹² Vargas Mexia to Philip II., 13th February 1580.—Teulet, V., 206. Cf. Mémoire de Nau.—Prince Labanoff, VII., 205.

life, was treated by the English Government only with guile and double-dealing. Her intentions were misinterpreted; even her most harmless doings were criticised and looked upon as criminal. The principal author of the disorder was Walsingham whose "turbulent imaginations"¹ Mary dreaded. Ambitious, cunning, heartless and a liar, he himself, alone, ruined more innocent persons than the whole of Elizabeth's Privy Council. It was he who overwhelmed the Earls of Arundel and Northumberland, destroyed the Howard family, covered the sea and the continent with English exiles, and spread over all Europe a leprous spying; he, again, who encouraged, led on and ruined Babington. For a long time past he wished to rid his Queen of the troublesome Scottish captive, but his efforts had been fruitless, for Mary observed extreme discretion. True it is that in the Babington conspiracy she had worked against England in the interest of her freedom; but she had not so compromised herself as to deserve death. She endeavoured to gain by force that freedom which she was unjustly refused, and which had been cruelly denied: none could blame or condemn her.

Walsingham, at his wits' end, undertook to use against Mary, the deceitful means which he had formerly used in favour of Leicester, and to get from the great Bodies of the State, by laying before them the forged correspondence of the conspirators, a sentence which Elizabeth was afraid to give. The letter written by Mary to Babington (17th July, old style) procured him the chance.

Walsingham, in the first place, added to it a postscript in the Queen's cypher, asking the names of the six gentlemen, and the way in which they meant to carry out the business;² then he forged in the body of the letter a paragraph on the assassination of Elizabeth, and sent it, ten days later, to Babington.³ He, led astray by that letter which he thought he held straight from the Queen, grew bolder, and soon knew no bounds. Walsingham had cleverly carried out his purpose, for the plot, hatched by himself, had become great enough and clear enough to ruin its authors and the Queen, in whose favour it had been got up, and the crafty minister wanted nothing more. The accused were tried and condemned. On his examination, Babington, who had

¹ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 31st August 1577.—Prince Labanoff, IV., 383. "He, as well as Stafford, his predecessor, might be compared," says Naunton in his Portraits, "to the Enemy of the Gospel who sowed tares during the night, for they both

sowed the seeds of division in a very secret manner."—Elizabeth and her Favourites, 59.

² Prince Labanoff, VI., 395; Camden, III., 439.

³ Prince Labanoff, VI., 397. See Dissertation III. at the end of the work.

no idea of the fraud which Walsingham had guiltily effected, spoke to the authenticity of Mary's letters.

Their deaths were sad to behold. The priest Ballard, as chief author of the conspiracy was put to death first: "Courage!" said he to his companions, while on his way to the gallows, "since we are Catholics, let us die as Catholics."¹ He was seized and hanged. He was taken down half dead, and his entrails were torn out and held up before his face. Then came Babington's turn; he was bold and noble as he watched the torture and death of Ballard, as if to nerve himself to suffer more coolly. As they tore out his heart, he could not contain these words: "Lord Jesus! be merciful to me!" Savage was so violently shaken that the rope broke, and he fell to the ground; he was there embowelled, and felt keenly his agony. Tichborne drew forth real pity. "Before this hapless affair," said he, "Babington and I lived in the most brilliant position. Who were the talk of the Strand, Fleet Street, and every nook and corner in London, if not Babington and Tichborne? We found no doors closed upon us. We wanted nothing, and God knows how little State affairs took hold of our minds. I had always thought it impious to meddle with them, and refused to do so. In deference to my friend, I held my tongue and consented. . . . My dear fellow-countrymen, my sorrow to-day makes your joy. Ah! do mingle some tears with your smiles and have pity on my sad state. I am of a house which never, since two hundred years before the Conquest, stooped to dishonour. I have a wife and child. Agnes, my wife, my dear wife; how sad it is to part from you! I have besides six sisters who depend on me, and my poor servants have, I know, been sent far and wide, after my arrest: all that rends my heart."² He shared those regrets with Jones, who was reserved for the morrow. "My sad fate made me," said the latter before his judges, "either betray a friend whom I loved as I love myself, or break my allegiance, and ruin myself and my posterity. I have wished to be counted among the faithful friends, and I die as a traitor. Thomas Salisbury's friendship has been fatal to me, and yet I am not a framer of treason." Barnwell breathed his last on the same day with Christian fortitude; Abington, on the contrary, yelled out curses, and defied the fury of the executioners.

¹ Mendoça to Philip II., 20th October.—Teulet, V., 414.

² The last words of the unhappy youth, together with the letter he wrote to his wife on

the eve of his death, are inserted in Thommerel's Collection, 4-8. I know nothing more sorrowful or more loving in any language.

The several executions were got through with such cruelty, that the mob loudly gave vent to its displeasure, and withdrew disgusted and horror-stricken. The Queen, therefore, who had settled beforehand those barbarities, was obliged to lessen the tortures of the morrow (30th September and 1st October). Thanks to that, the rest of the conspirators died a less painful death.¹

Notwithstanding the precautions and uneasiness which preceded that barbarous revenge, the English cabinet had not forgotten Mary's two secretaries, and now sought from them confessions which should implicate their mistress. But, contrary to expectations, the secretaries seemed struck with dumbness; they told what they knew of Mary's secret dealings in regard to the invasion, but nothing could be got from them about the project of assassinating Elizabeth. Phelipps, who had forged the letter, in vain searched among Mary's papers for an autograph note or sentence which might support the charge. Walsingham was in despair: "I would to God," wrote he, "that these minutes could be found!"² That Walsingham should be puzzled, grieved his colleagues; so Burghley lent him a helping hand. Suspecting that fear hindered the secretaries from speaking, he wrote this revolting letter to Sir Charles Hatton: "Assure them of their safety and then we shall have the whole truth from them. Surely then they will yield in writing somewhat to confirm their mistress's crime, if they were persuaded that themselves might scape, and the blow fall upon their mistress, betwixt her head and her shoulders."³

The secretaries, having before them, on the one hand, only the frightful prospect of the Tower and tortures if they persisted in their silence, and on the other, the certainty of being restored to freedom by more or less formal confessions, declared what they knew of the conspiracy, at the risk of compromising the ill-fated Queen who had employed them. But the confessions wrung from them through fear were not quite in accordance with what the ministers wanted. Thus Nau, when threatened, admitted that his mistress knew of what was going on against Elizabeth, though she took no part in it, and owned the conspiracy only in so far as, through it, she hoped to be set free: an absolute denial to the letter to Babington.⁴

The day after Ballard and Babington were so cruelly put to death,

¹ Howell, I., 1127 sq.; Hardwicke's Miscellaneous State Papers, I., 225 sq.; Camden, 443.

² Walsingham to Phelipps, Sept. 3.—Tytler, IV., 133.

³ Burghley to Sir Charles Hatton, 4th Sept.—Tytler, IV., 133; Lingard's History.

⁴ Tytler's History, IV., 134.

the secretaries were again brought before the ministers ; the latter hoping that so terrible an example would make the accused more tractable. They were asked to attest the letters to Babington. Instead of again placing before them the letter of the 17th of July, which they had already acknowledged in a vague manner,¹ only an extract of the principal points was handed to them. The secretaries, if we can believe the sole testimony of Phelipps in such a matter, acknowledged the substance of the letter; but the document contains so important an error of fact that it is very doubtful if it ought to be accepted.²

Those confessions brought Walsingham out of a very awkward difficulty, for, one month before, he had assured the French ambassador that Nau had confessed more than was needed to prove the guilt of the Queen, although nothing as yet was proved. Hatton had said the same,³ and if the secretaries had kept dumb, those lying statements must certainly have much puzzled the ministers.

At that time Mary wrote to the Duke de Guise : " My good Cousin, if God do not help you to find means of aiding your poor Cousin, it is all over this time. The bearer will tell you how they treat me and my two secretaries. For God's sake help and save them if you can. We are accused of having wished to disturb the State, and of having practised against the life of the Queen, or consented to it ; but I have asserted what is true, that I know nothing of it. It is said that some letters have been seized in the possession of one Babington, one Charles Paget and his brother, which testify to the conspiracy, and that Nau and Curle have confessed it. I maintain that they could not do so, unless more than they know was forced out of them by means of tortures." ⁴

On the 5th of October (new style), Mary was taken from Chartley to Fotheringay, and the same evening Elizabeth appointed a commission to try her. Wavering was at an end, the mask was now torn off, and the tragedy was drawing to a close. Mary was to be tried and convicted by the act passed during the year before. The commissioners reached the Castle on the 21st of October, with an escort of two thousand men, sent to stop any movement in favour of Mary. The next day the prisoner-Queen received a visit from Paulet, Sir Walter Mildmay (a member of the Privy Council), and Barker, the Notary, who handed her a letter from

¹ The letters to Babington were presented to them on the 5th and 6th September. They immediately said they remembered the two first ; as for the third, they merely said they thought the letter was *such* or *similar*, as far as they *could remember*.—Prince Labanoff.

² See Dissertation III.

³ Francis Egerton, 76 sq.

⁴ Mary Stuart to the Duke de Guise.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 438, 439 ; Blackwood, 664.

Elizabeth. That letter was a long address in the form of an indictment: Elizabeth reproached her with her evil doings, accused her of conspiracy, and ordered her to answer before the commissioners the charges against her, giving her up to the justice of the laws under the protection of which she had lived since her coming to England. Mary read the letter with a calm countenance: "I am much grieved," said she, "that the Queen, my good sister, should think so ill of me as to reject the many reasonable offers made by me and my friends for my freedom. I am her nearest kinswoman. I have often myself warned her of the dangers to which she was exposed, and I have not been believed." Then broaching the subject of Elizabeth's letter, "They assume a right to command as a master," said she, "and they imagine perhaps that I am to obey as a slave. What then! Does your mistress forget that I was born a Queen? Does she think that I shall degrade my rank, my position, the blood which flows in my veins, the son who succeeds me, and the Kings and foreign Princes whose rights would be wronged in my person, even by obeying such a letter? Never. Crushed though I seem, I have a heart noble and brave, and I will not disgrace myself. Let your Queen stand by what I have said to Bromley and Delaware. I know nothing of your laws or statutes; I have no Counsel; I know not who are the competent peers; my papers have been taken from me; and no one would dare to say a word in my favour, innocent though I am. I have not plotted against your mistress; show me my writings and quote my words, if you wish to convict me. You can never do it. I confess, however, that I have placed myself under the protection of foreign Princes, cast aside as I was by your mistress."¹

The firmness which Mary showed in the defence of her rights, was also to be seen when she had to defend her religion. Paulet, joining his efforts to Elizabeth's, so as to intimidate the captive, went so far as to advise her to think of her soul: "My soul belongs to God," answered Mary: "He has shielded me till now. He will dispose of me according to His will. I will gladly make to Him the sacrifice of my life for the good of the Catholic faith."²

The next day, the account of the previous day's visit was read to the captive. Mary said it was fair: "it is well," said she, "only your Queen has written to me as to a subject, placing me at the mercy of

¹ Howell's Trials, I., 1169. Queen Mary's first answer.—Prince Labanoff, VII., 37, 38; Camden, III., 449.

² Mendoça to Philip II., 8th November. Teulet, V., 422.

the English laws : tell her that, under the protection of the same laws, I came into England, and that, in spite of them, I have been cast into this prison, where I still groan.”¹

At twelve o'clock, jurisconsults of the civil and religious law went to the prisoner ; but neither reasoning, sophism, nor the threat of prosecution for contumacy could humble her pride. “ From whom,” asked she, “ do the commissioners hold their warrant ? From the Queen ? That Queen is my equal, not my superior : give me Kings as judges, and I appear before them. Better a thousand times to meet the King of Terrors, than live entombed within those walls,” added she. “ Welcome death, rather than the shame of standing as a criminal at the bar of an English court of justice.”²

Far from being bewildered, Mary puzzled the jurisconsults. In the middle of the debate, addressing the Lord Chancellor Bromley, who spoke of Queen Elizabeth's protection, she said, “ I came into England to request assistance, and I was instantly imprisoned. Is that protection ? ” “ Madam,” muttered Bromley, unable to answer the question, “ the meaning of our royal mistress is plain ; it is not the part of us subjects to interpret it.”³

Elizabeth, informed of what was going on, trembled with rage at the thought that a prisoner dared to contend with her, and wrote a cruel note to the captive. “ You have again and again tried to take my life, and ruin my kingdom by bloodshed. I have never been hard upon you ; far from it ; I loved you and defended you as my second self ; your treason shall be proved, and clearly too, in the very place where you now are. Consequently, our good pleasure is that you answer the nobles and barons of my kingdom as you would me, were I present ; I therefore enjoin you, charge you, and command you to answer them. I know your arrogance, but be candid, and you shall be treated with more favour.”⁴

That letter would probably have hardened Mary, without humbling her, had not Hatton brought round the Queen of Scots by gentleness : “ Madam,” said he to her, with a certain affected tenderness, “ you are accused, but not convicted. You are a Queen, it is true, but royal dignity is not freed from answering the charge of such a crime ; the civil and ecclesiastical laws, the right of peoples and natural right make it a duty, else justice must die. If you are innocent, in shrinking from

¹ Queen Mary's second answer.—Prince Labanoff, VII., 39 ; Camden, III., 450.

² Egerton's Life, 86 ; Camden, III., 452.

³ Camden, III., 451 ; Tytler, IV., 136.

⁴ Egerton, 86.

judgment, you wrong your reputation : Queen Elizabeth believes she has a right to think you guilty, though she regrets it. The commissioners who are men of honour, prudence and equity, will rejoice to find you innocent ; the Queen herself will be all the more glad, as she has been much grieved at such a charge being brought against you. Cast aside, then, the vain privilege of royal dignity which cannot serve you ; appear at court, plead your innocence, and do not, by shunning a trial now necessary, strengthen suspicion, and for ever sully your reputation."¹ "I do not refuse," answered Mary, "to defend myself in open Parliament, before the Privy Council or the Queen, if my rights to the throne, and my close relationship to her, be recognised ; but I certainly will not submit to the judgment of enemies who will condemn me, come what may, without allowing me to defend myself." "Whether you will or not," Burghley hastened to add, "we shall proceed against you to-morrow, and if you do not come forward, you shall be condemned in default ; to warn you of it is carrying respect to excess." "Well," replied Mary, "search your conscience, think of your honour, and may God make you and your children answer for the sentence which you shall pronounce upon me."²

They then parted, Burghley believing that the Queen of Scots would never consent to be tried by a tribunal so constituted. Mary passed the whole night in great agitation. Hatton's words made her reflect. If she were silent, as her dignity seemed to require, might not her reserve be taken for a tacit confession of her guilt. Elizabeth's last words, "Act with candour, and you shall be treated with more favour," were perhaps added to the end of the highly offensive letter, to point out the course she ought to follow. Those considerations and Burghley's threat to proceed and condemn her without hearing her, led Mary to accept the commission. The excessive care which she took of her reputation made her forget danger, and commit an error of judgment which turned out even fatal to her.

On the 3rd of October, early in the morning, she sent for some of the delegates, and told them that, after thinking over Vice-Chancellor Hatton's words, she had resolved to present herself before the commission, on condition, however, that her protest should be registered and approved. They refused to approve it, but Burghley promised to register it, and Mary, after a moment's hesitation, accepted Burghley's offer, the sole object in view being to make known her innocence.

¹ Camden, III., 452.

answer, III. Prince Labanoff, VII., 42 sq ;

² Howell's State Trials. Queen Mary's Camden, II., 453.

The commissioners soon repaired to the great hall at Fotheringay, where they were to hold their Court. The hall had been prepared for the event. In the background, under a canopy surmounted by the leopard, rose a throne intended for Queen Elizabeth, who never sat on it; on the right were seated, in the form of an amphitheatre, Bromley, Lord Chancellor, Burghley, Lord Treasurer, the Earls of Oxford, Kent and Derby, and thirteen other commissioners; on the left, the eighteen others, among whom were Walsingham and Hatton; lower down, the great judges of England, the first Baron of the Exchequer; in the middle, around a table, were Popham, Attorney-General, two Clerks Register and some magistrates. A good many Protestant gentlemen of the neighbourhood, admitted to the trial, occupied the space between the main entrance and the bar; an arm-chair for Mary, near the table and opposite Elizabeth's throne, was in marked contrast, as much by its position as by its simplicity.¹

Mary Stuart entered the hall, clad in black velvet, over which she had thrown a white veil reaching almost to the ground. Four of her ladies, her physician, Bourgoyn, and her steward, Melville, attended her. On reaching the bar, she bowed to the commissioners, and went to the arm-chair intended for her; but noticing that it was only a stool covered with crimson velvet, she was offended, and said: "I accept this seat only as a Christian; my place ought to be there," and she pointed to Elizabeth's throne, the brilliancy and splendour of which hurt and offended her, "for," she added, "I have been a Queen since my birth, and, moreover, have been married to a King of France." That feeling was of short duration. She then cast a glance on the nobles who were to try her, and turning to Melville said, "Alas! here are many counsellors, and yet there is not one for me."

Bromley having called silence, turned to Mary, set forth, while praising his mistress, the reasons which led her to bring the Queen of Scots to trial, and protested that Elizabeth had come to that determination only with regret and through fear lest she should fail in what she owed God, her people, and her own dignity. Ordered by Burghley, the Justice-Clerk then read the decree which constituted the commission a tribunal.

Mary, before answering, told, in a few words, all about her unjust treatment in England, and again protested against the right of that tribunal to try her, adding that her title of Queen placed her above the

¹ Howell's State Trials, I., 1172, 1173.

peers, and that she came forward only to prove her innocence. Burghley did not heed her protest. The peers were kindly disposed, and advised that the protest and the reply be registered, but without binding themselves in any way. Then Gowdy, one of the crown lawyers, stated the crimes with which Mary Stuart was charged, and maintained that the Queen of Scots had advised, not only the invasion of England, but also the assassination of Elizabeth.

Mary could not thoroughly disprove those charges, and besides she was taken at a disadvantage, as she had neither document nor counsellor of any kind. Only two lines of defence lay open to her; she must either admit having had a hand in the Babington conspiracy, or deny all share in it. The first course would have been the better one before an untrammelled and impartial court, but it would have been madness before men who waited eagerly to ruin her by means of the slightest confession. The second, though less noble, could alone be admitted. It had, besides, the immense advantage of forcing the adverse party to bring forward proofs. For Mary that advantage was incalculable, as she was sure that she had not written anything against the Queen of England. From want of counsellors and advocates she adopted the latter plan, intending to modify it as her case needed and truth demanded.¹

She answered that she had never known Babington, had not kept up any correspondence with him, had never conspired against Elizabeth, and that to convict her, words alone were not enough, but that some document in her own handwriting must be produced. She denied that she had known or encouraged Ballard, but admitted that she had written to the Queen in favour of the persecuted Catholics, had warned her that the minds of the people were being roused, and had received letters, by whom written she knew not,² but solemnly protested that she had never urged any one to do a crime, and showed clearly that, from the depths of her prison, she neither could know of, nor hinder, the enterprises of those who were at liberty.

When mention was made of Babington's letters, copies of which were put forward, Mary said: "What do those letters prove? I am not aware that Babington wrote them; but supposing he did write them, it must be proved that I received them. If Babington or any other dared to affirm it, I should firmly give him the lie. The faults

¹ That line of conduct entered fully into the views of Chancellor Bellièvre.—Spanish Despatches, Teulet, V., 428.

² Mary Stuart to Morgan, 2d July 1586.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 355.

of others must not be imputed to me ; besides, I lately received a packet of letters which had been kept for nearly a year, and I know not whence they came."¹

Against those denials Babington's confession was set up. "Babington," said she, "has confessed what he pleased, but it is absolutely false that I have had recourse to such means to regain my liberty ; my enemies may easily have got the cyphers which I used, and have counterfeited them to write falsehoods. What likelihood is there, for instance, that I should have sought, as is affirmed, the help of the Earl of Arundel, whom I knew to be in prison, or that of Northumberland, a young man who is unknown to me. Besides," added she, "if Babington did make such a statement, why was he put to death ? He ought to have been here to confront me and confound me by his testimony. Far from that, your tortures leave full scope for imposture, and for ever do away with truth."

The abridged confessions of Ballard and Savage in reference to Babington's letters were then read, but Mary adhered to what she had said, and the commissioners, unable to catch her by cross-examination, produced those famous letters. Mary asked to see them. "They are bad copies," she said with spirit ; "those documents are not mine ; they have been got up from the alphabet I sent to France." She then firmly pressed them to bring forward the originals. It was enough to confound her and close her mouth, to put them in as criminating articles. Mary had a right to call for them, and it was the duty of the Judges to show them. Walsingham and Burghley were too cunning to allow such a fine opportunity to escape ; but how can one show what one does not possess, what one never has possessed ? Criminating articles were then, it is plain, completely wanting. From that fact alone, Mary ought to have been acquitted ; yet, the case was proceeded with ; she was, in defiance of the most sacred rights, judged and condemned without being found guilty, or confessing her guilt.

During the embarrassment of Elizabeth's counsellors, Mary went on : "I do not deny," said she, "that, following an inclination natural to human beings, I have ardently wished for freedom, and have striven for my release ; but God is my witness that I have never plotted against the Queen's life. Nineteen years of close captivity have made me write to my friends ; I have begged their help, I own it, but I never wrote what is now handed me. I also confess," added

¹ The letters delivered by Châteauneuf to Gilbert Gifford. They had been detained by M. de Mauvissière.

she, with tears in her eyes, "that I have often written in favour of the persecuted Catholics, and that I would have given my blood to save them from their afflictions, but what link is there between that and the death of your Queen? How shall I be responsible for the perverse designs of men driven to despair, of men whom I do not even know?" "No faithful citizen," interrupted Burghley, "has suffered for the sake of religion; only a few have been condemned who were traitors, and upheld the authority of the Pope over the Queen, and defended the Bull." "Yet," answered Mary, "I have been told and have read the contrary." "You may have read it," replied Burghley, "but do not the same books advance also that our Queen has fallen from royal dignity?"

As Burghley insisted on the authenticity of the letters, she defended herself only with the more eagerness. "It is easy," said she, "to counterfeit cyphers, and the writings of others; you have a striking example of it in that impostor who, by similar means, passed himself off in France as the bastard brother of my son.¹ To tell the truth, I fear that is the work of Walsingham, who, if hearsay can be believed, is working my ruin and my child's." And, addressing him haughtily: "Do you think, Master Secretary," said she to him, "that I am not aware of the artifices you use against me with such knavish cruelty? Your spies beset me on all sides; but you perhaps do not know that many of those spies have made false depositions, and have warned me of what you are about? And if he has so acted, My Lords," said she, turning to the assembly, "how shall I be assured that he has not forged my cyphers to put me to death, when I know he has conspired against my child's life and mine?"

Those withering words, falling suddenly and without warning on the head of the guilty Walsingham, called forth a quick reply. "God is my witness," exclaimed he, "that in private, I have done nothing but what an honest man ought to have done, and in public I have done nothing unworthy of my office;² I have carefully sifted the conspiracies against our Sovereign, and had Ballard himself tendered me his services, I should have accepted them." Mary begged him to forget the freedom with which she had reminded him of what was said about him. "Give no more heed to the words of those who slander me," said she, "than

¹ He had been sent by Walsingham himself. —Blackwood, *Œuvres Complètes*, 663.

² Prince Labanoff is of an opinion diametrically opposite. He has proved, with docu-

ments in hand, that the minister was neither an "honest man," nor a "worthy minister."—VI., 322. I do not speak of the letter to Babington.

I do to the statements of those who betray you. No value is to be attached to the testimony of those spies or agents, whose words always give the lie to their hearts. Yea, too, do not believe that I have been base enough to wish that harm should be done the Queen, my very dear sister. No," continued she, in tears, "I shall never seek her ruin at the cost of my honour, my conscience, and my salvation."

Such was the state of matters on the morning of the 24th of October. In the afternoon, a copy of the letter which Charles Paget had written to Mary, was read to her; therein he inquired about a conference held in Paris, between Mendoza, the ambassador of Spain, and Ballard, concerning the invasion of England. Mary merely replied that the point in question did not lie there, and that the letter did not prove that she had agreed to the assassination of Elizabeth. They went back upon Babington's letter, as well as the famous letter of the 27th of July, and made an attempt to convict her by the confessions of her secretaries; to which she replied that, in truth, she thought Curle a very honest man, but that she did not think so much of Nau, though he had been recommended to her by the Cardinal de Lorraine and the King of France; the French secretary, she added, might not always tell the truth, through fear; to save his life, he might even allow himself to be bribed, and Curle was devoted to his fellow secretary: both, in short, might have written in those letters things which she had not dictated to them, or might even have replied without her knowledge. "To what a wretched state," she exclaimed, "are the majesty and safety of Princes brought, if their fate depends on the writings and testimonies of their secretaries. As for me, I have written only what was quite natural. I wished to regain my freedom; to convict me, either my words or my writings must be quoted. If my secretaries have written anything against the Queen, my sister, they have done so, unknown to me, and deserve to be punished for their rashness; if they were here, I should be at once held guiltless, and if I had my papers in hand, I could reply with more clearness."

As no originals could be produced, nothing was more easy than to call in the secretaries, and, bringing them face to face with Mary, convict her from their statements: and that would have been the more just, as an Act of Parliament, passed in 1571, expressly ordered witnesses and accused to be confronted.

Burghley soon saw what the Queen of Scots wanted, and therefore tried to stop the discussion and change the drift of the debates. He alleged that she had intended to send her son to Spain, and hand over

to Philip II. her rights to the throne of England. Mary took no heed of the first charge, as she thought it trifling and out of place, and answered to the second, that she had no kingdom to give up, but that she held herself free to settle her affairs as she chose, without opening her mind to any one.

As they would not take up the main question, the debate was about mere trifles. Mary was then charged with sending her cyphers to certain Catholics; she answered that she had as much right to address people of her religion as Elizabeth had to write to the partisans of her own. Such littleness had plainly only one end in view: to make Mary lose the thread of her defence—for not one of those articles was included in the indictment. The confessions of the secretaries were again brought forward, and Mary affirmed anew that she had known neither Ballard nor Babington. "But," said Burghley, "you certainly know Morgan, who sent Parry here to kill the Queen, and you have given him a pension." "I do not know," replied Mary, "what Morgan has done; but this I do know, he has given up everything for me, and I was in honour bound to befriend him. Your Queen, besides, sets me the example, by giving pensions to Gray, to my enemies in Scotland, and even to my son." Burghley answered, not much to the purpose, and matters seemed for a time to take a more serious turn.

Extracts were then read from Mary's letters to Englefield, Paget and Mendoza, to prove that she had connived at the invasion of the kingdom; an unfair course of action, which, while passing from one point to another, without throwing light on anything, ended by confusing all questions, and forming against Mary a lengthy, but by no means conclusive brief. Mary returned to the main point—the conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth. All that, said she, did not prove that she had had a share in it, and if persons who took an interest in her had worked to release her, no fault could be found with her, for she had often told Queen Elizabeth of her resolution to leave no means untried to get free. Her absolute refusal to reply to secondary questions so long as the main charge was unsettled, forced the commissioners, from want of power to convict the prisoner, to close the meeting. Here the first sitting of the court was brought to a close.

Next day, Mary again protested that she did not own the authority of the commissioners, and boldly asserted her innocence. She bitterly complained that she had received no attention at any time; that her offers had been rejected, her proposals spurned, her letters tampered with and handed over to the public, and her royalty disowned to such an

extent that she was forced to appear before a tribunal, not as a Queen, but as a criminal, to answer for her acts, after being styled a conspirator, though truly not one. "It is true," said she, "that I have fervently prayed for the welfare, safety and freedom of Catholics, but I have never wished that end to be reached by murder and bloodshed. I have chosen the part of Esther rather than of Judith ; my course has been, to pray to God for the people, not to take the life of the poorest peasant. My Lords," exclaimed she, "when you shall have done your worst against me, and robbed me of my rights, you shall feel the dreadful consequences."

The Lord Treasurer now addressed her : "Madam," said he, "I have to answer you as a Commissioner and as a Privy Councillor. As a Commissioner, I must tell you, in the first place, that your protest has been taken down, and that a copy of it will be handed to you ; I shall add that you are wrong to doubt our competency, because it rests on letters patent from the Queen, stamped with the great seal. We are here assembled to know what part you have taken in the attempts directed against our mistress ; we were empowered to look into the matter in your absence, and if we have been anxious for your presence at the debates, it is not to offend against propriety. So we have but one thing to lay to your charge, that you knew of the design and encouraged it ; your letters have been read in public, only to prove that." The Queen here broke in, saying that the letters which had no address might have been intended for others, that passages might have been introduced, and that it was not enough to prove certain circumstances, but that the fact itself must be proved. She concluded by again asking for the papers which had been taken from her. "What is the good of those papers ?" answered Burghley ; "the things are too fresh to be already forgotten ; moreover, Babington and the secretaries have acknowledged their authenticity. It is for the judges to decide whether or not the denial of the accused, cancels the evidence for the prosecution." He added as Councillor, that Mary must blame herself and the Scots, that she was not set free long ago, and not Elizabeth ; while, with the view of casting all the shame of that attempt on the innocent victim, he recalled the conspiracy of Parry, plotted by Morgan, at the very time when, according to him, they were disposed to release the Queen of Scots. Here, he went out of his way to say that Morgan was the warm partisan of Mary Stuart. The bitter remark wounded Mary : "Oh !" cried she, "What ! you also my enemy !"

Mary Stuart's exclamation cut short Burghley's speech, and the

examination of the proofs was next proceeded with. Mary energetically protested, and refused to listen to anything. "Well," said Burghley, "we shall hear them—we, the judges." "I also," replied the Queen, "shall hear them elsewhere, and shall defend myself; for it would be madness to recognise as my judges, men who have made up their minds to be hostile to me;" and she began to sob. Her letters to Dr Allen, Morgan, Paget and Babington, were then produced; she was again accused of having wished to give up to the King of Spain her rights to the throne of England, a project which virtually implied the ruin of the Queen, and an invasion of England. She was blamed too, for allowing English subjects¹ to call her their Most Serene Princess. Mary defended herself with touching simplicity, placing in their true light the supposed facts, denying the false imputations, boldly rejecting slander, in turn ardent, persuasive or downcast, uttering amid her burning apostrophes and her close reasoning, terrible and sudden replies, and exclamations which rend the soul and call forth sobs. Bright is the page in history wherein we look upon that woman, who, during her whole life, and notwithstanding the rigour of her captivity, coped with a powerful Queen, and who, strong in her innocence, still braved in her last struggle the lawyers and favourites of that same Queen. "Unjust proceedings!" cried she, "passages are chosen from my letters, and their real meaning twisted; the originals are taken from me; neither the religion which I profess, nor my sacred character as a Queen, is respected. My Lords, if my personal feelings can make one sympathetic chord vibrate in your bosoms, think of the royal majesty insulted in my person; think of the example which you set; think of your own Queen who was like me wrongly mixed up in a conspiracy."² "I am accused," said she also, "of having written to Christian princes in the interest of my freedom; I confess I have done so, and I should do so again if need were. What human creature—Oh! Good God!—would not do the same to escape from a captivity such as mine? You lay to my charge my letters to Babington. Well! be it so: I deny them not; only, show me a single word about the Queen, my sister, and then I shall allow your right to prosecute me. You put forward the testimony of my secretaries; their confessions have been wrung from them by dread and threats, and must be null and void. You speak to me of the confessions of those who have been put to death; now that they are no more, you can say what you please, believe it who will." Then, entering on the particulars of her situation, she added,

¹ Dr Allen.

² In the Wyatt Conspiracy, 1554.

"I came into this country on the faith of Elizabeth's promises and friendship; this here, My Lords, is the pledge of love and protection, this the pledge I received from your mistress: look at it carefully." Saying those words, she took from her finger the ring which Elizabeth sent her after the defeat at Langside. "Trusting to it, I came among you; now tell me how this pledge has been redeemed." She asked an interview with the Queen, a hearing in Parliament or before the Privy Council. Seeing all her requests refused, she hastened to conclude with these remarkable words: "Accused, I claim the privilege of having an advocate to plead my cause; a Queen, I claim to be believed on the word of a Queen."

Those were her last words; she rose with dignity, and with a firm step, went towards Burghley, Walsingham, Warwick and Hatton, and left the commissioners, before whom she was not again to appear.

The meeting was adjourned by order of Queen Elizabeth, and convoked on the 25th of October (4th November *N.S.*), not at Fotheringay, but in the Star Chamber at Westminster. Mary, meanwhile, was at Fotheringay in the greatest uncertainty, yet she lost none of her usual calmness: "I have seen the Queen of Scots," wrote Paulet to Walsingham, the day after the debates; "she is indisposed, but calm and quite undismayed."¹

On the day fixed, the commissioners met at Westminster. Nau and Curle were called to the Star Chamber; they confirmed their previous deposition in the main, but energetically denied the principal count of the indictment, namely: the project of assassination. That denial displeased the forger ministers, and confounded them. Walsingham flew into a rage, blamed Nau for speaking against his conscience, recalled the confession of Babington and his accomplices, and loaded him with abuse. The French secretary repeated his declaration, appealed to God and Christian Princes against the iniquity of the proceedings, should the judges condemn his mistress on charges so "false, slanderous, and fictitious," and summoned them to take note of his declaration. Despite so strong a protest, Mary was condemned to death, with this clause added, that the sentence was in no way to affect the honour or rights of her son, the King of Scotland. Four days later, Parliament ratified the sentence.²

¹ Paulet to Walsingham, Oct. 11.—Miss Strickland, V., 441.

² Howell's State Trials, I., 1166 sq.; Teulet, IV., 150 sq.; Camden, 445 sq.; Sanderson, 113

sq.; Caussin, Jebb, II., 86 sq. *Histoire secrète des Rois et des Reines d'Angleterre*, II.—Jebb, Tytler, Chalmers, Lingard, Miss Strickland, etc. *Dissertation*, III., at the end of the work.

Shameful judgment! Criminal proceedings begun contrary to all right, continued and carried out against all justice! However prejudiced one may be against the Queen of Scots, it is impossible to be blind to the fact, that she was condemned only through hatred and perfidy, and without any respect for the law. The commissioners meant to convict her from testimony, and they put the witnesses to death; they referred to the confessions of her secretaries, and refused, not only to confront them with her, but also to register their replies which were favourable to her; they quoted letters, and the originals were not forthcoming; they could not find her guilty on the principal count, so they fell back on the details; in short, they chose only her enemies to try her; and took no heed of her appeal to Parliament, but went on charging her all the same.

It is almost beyond question that Mary's death was settled before Elizabeth and her Council made up their minds to bring her to trial. Even the judges betray themselves; the most famous among them, Lord Burghley, wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury, who was unwell at the time: "since the Queen of Scots *has not cleared herself from the charge brought against her*, say you are in favour of a conviction," and he dictated to the Earl, the terms in which he ought to ask it.¹ It is clear, from that single confession of Burghley's, that the Queen of Scots, "the Queen of the Castell,"² as he scoffingly called her, "was condemned, not because she was convicted, but because she did not sufficiently prove her innocence." After that, may not one say, with an enemy of Mary Stuart, "that the question was not so much to punish her for the part she had taken in the conspiracy, as to convince the public that she had a share in it, so that people might think the sentence less strange, or rather might be persuaded that her death was absolutely necessary, for the safety of England."³

¹ Quoted in Lingard's History.

² Histoire d'Angleterre, par Rapin Thoyras,

³ Lord Burghley to Secretary Davison, 15th Oct. 1586.—Ellis, I., iii., 12. VII., 431.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1586.

SLANDER SPREAD BY WALSHINGHAM THROUGHOUT FRANCE—INTRIGUES OF WOTTON—
CHÂTEAUNEUF'S EFFORTS FOR MARY—SPEECH OF BELLIÈVRE—HIS RELATIONS WITH
ELIZABETH—DESTRAPPES—THE KING OF SCOTS AND PHILIP II. TAKE UP MARY
STUART'S CAUSE—ELIZABETH'S DISSEMBLING—HER WORDS IN PARLIAMENT.

WHILE the English Cabinet strove to ruin Mary Stuart, it tried at the same time to destroy her good name throughout Europe, and banish from her side those who, from their position, were bound to stand by her. The calumnies forged in London were, through the zeal of the English ambassador, re-echoed in Paris, in a manner far from favourable for the unfortunate Queen. Walsingham availed himself of Mary's relations with Philip II. to further his own cause, and bring about a quarrel between them and the Court of France. Unsuccessful, so long as he confined himself to words, he sent to France, Wotton, a skilful intriguer, who had already, in Scotland, given proofs of his ability. He was to lay the train and fire it, by informing the King and Queen-mother of the little warmth shown by Mary for the French interests, and by descanting on her partiality for Philip II. He was, further, to enlarge upon the unseemliness and danger of such a line of conduct, mention an intercepted letter written by her to Mendoça, thanking him for his good services, and promising to give over her rights to his Sovereign, and then to hand in a copy of a will drawn out by that Princess, in favour of the King of Spain, and a number of letters written to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Morgan and Paget, expressing a certain mistrust of France.¹ Those base whisperings of the English envoy, laid before a Court naturally distrustful, strangely cooled the interest taken in her; and, had it not been for the energy shown by Châteauneuf at that crisis, the Court of France would probably have forsaken Mary Stuart, and England have at once put her to death. "Monsieur," wrote he to Baron d'Esneval, on the 4th of October, "I again send this messenger to the King in reference to the Queen of

¹ Mendoça to Philip II., 8th November.—Teulet, V., 421 sq.

Scots, who is, I assure you, more than ever in need of help from his Majesty, and I much fear that the little heed taken in France of affairs in England, may largely tend to *hasten the last breath of this poor Princess.*"¹

We have no difficulty in recognising here "the innate whisperer" and heart of a man who, a few days before the commissioners left, wrote to Elizabeth in favour of the "Lady Queen, Mother, Sovereign, . . . smitten by misfortune," asking that "at least, according to all civil and imperial laws, received and acted upon throughout the world, she might be allowed, before answering, to have the help of counsel, a favour which nowhere was withheld from those branded with high treason."² That nobleness of attitude and frankness of speech do the more honour to the ambassador as he was in the midst of traitors, and ran the risk of giving offence to both France and England. But do what he might, matters went on apace in London, while France, wavering and disheartened, seemed to forget in a moment of jealousy, that Mary had worn on her brow the flory Crown. Goaded by that lukewarmness and carelessness, Châteauneuf became more earnest: "It seems," said he, "that little heed is taken abroad of the Queen of Scots. I consider her lost, or in a very sad state. I have given warning pithily and quickly, as you know. I have done my duty in the matter, and shall be free from all blame."³

That strong appeal at length made the French Government send to England, as ambassador-extraordinary, Pomponne de Bellièvre, with express orders to look after Mary Stuart; only, so many were the delays, so much time was lost on the journey, and event followed event so rapidly, that Châteauneuf, now scarcely knowing to whom he should apply, wrote to the private secretary, Brûlart, this forcible letter:—"Sir, you must have seen from the King's letter that I am straining every nerve that M. de Bellièvre may find the Queen of Scots alive when he reaches this. I trust all may go well. I do not know if people are deceiving me here. Had I had full power, I should have begun by a public protest, to both Queen and Parliament, for those people are to be swayed only by fear, whatever may be said to the contrary. But, dreading lest such a measure should displease, I have until now used only prayers and requests, sure that gentle means are

¹ M. de Châteauneuf to Baron d'Esneval.—Teulet, IV., 108. The words in italics in the text are so in the original document.

² M. de Châteauneuf to the Queen of England.—Teulet, IV., 110, 111.

³ M. de Châteauneuf to M. d'Esneval.—Teulet, IV., 113.

the best when available. If anything go wrong before the arrival of the said M. de Bellièvre, I assure you that I am not to be blamed for failing in my duty.”¹

On the very day that Châteauneuf wrote that last and touching appeal, Bellièvre landed at Dover. The day after his arrival in London, he asked an audience of Elizabeth; “but,” says one of the gentlemen in attendance upon the ambassador, “as the cunning of this Queen is endless, (she) wished to put off seeing the said envoy for a few days.”² Wild reports were spread in reference to the new embassy. At first, it was stated that the envoys had brought the plague with them; the number of the victims was quoted, and particulars were given as to the place and manner of death. That first report being hushed, it began to be noised abroad, that among the French envoys there were men of little note, who had come to London only to kill Elizabeth. Those despicable hints were thrown out merely to gain time, and leave to Parliament, then assembled, the leisure to condemn the Queen of Scots. Elizabeth made no difficulties in receiving the French envoy as soon as the sentence was ratified.

The audience took place on Sunday, the 28th of November (old style). Bellièvre was accompanied by Châteauneuf. Elizabeth received them with extraordinary pomp. She was seated upon her throne; the grand Officers of State and the Lords, assembled around her, in order of rank, formed a brilliant spectacle. Before that imposing Court, Bellièvre uttered his famous speech, an odd tissue of reasoning and erudition, in which we have poets, philosophers, historians and mythologists preaching mercy. “The enemies of the Queen of Scots,” said he, “spread a baleful report among your people, that the existence of the said Queen is your ruin, and that your two lives cannot go on together in this same kingdom. . . . It seems as if the authors of that statement wish to attribute all to the counsel of men, and leave nothing to God’s providence. . . . If some Catholic Princes resolve to attack your Kingdom, it will not be to save the Queen of Scots, but to uphold religion. Though the said lady be taken away from this world, the cause of war is not removed, but rather the occasion for it increased, and the pretext for the said war made more specious than before, to avenge an act so strange and so extraordinary, committed against all

¹ M. de Châteauneuf to Brûlart, 21st November.—Teulet, IV., 114.

² Advis pour M. de Villeroy, de ce qui a esté faict en Angleterre par M. de Bellièvre.—Teulet, IV., 139.

worldly laws, against a Sovereign Princess, a Queen anointed, and held sacred in the Church of God. . . . If you put the Queen of Scots to death, as some advise you, her death will arm your enemies with despair, and with an honest excuse for attempting against you, all that may lie in their power, to avenge the outrage on their relative."

After showing Elizabeth that she ran a great risk in using rigorous measures, he asked her to ensure Mary's safety in the name of the Queen-mother, the King of France and "the reigning Queen," in extremely tender and touching terms: "Madam," continued he, "you can greatly oblige us all by the resolution it may please you to take in the case of the noble Princess who has been our Queen, and your Majesty is sure to earn our lasting thanks if, instead of handing her over to the evils with which she is threatened, you tender her a gracious treatment."¹ Elizabeth replied to "Messieurs les ambassadeurs," that she much regretted that persons of their quality should have been chosen to negotiate so thankless an affair, but that her resolution was taken, and that, at a later period, the patience she had used to the Queen of Scots would be appreciated, and the justice of her conduct recognised; and that, besides, she had been for some time past aware of the stories which people took the trouble to tell her, but that those noble examples could not induce her to change her purpose. She took leave of the ambassadors, telling them that she put her faith in God, and that with His grace, "poor woman" as she was, she should overcome her enemies.²

In that first audience nothing was gained for the Queen of Scots. Bellièvre waited in vain for another answer from Elizabeth. Thinking himself forgotten, and his presence in London needless, he, a week after, asked leave to return to France. Elizabeth delayed granting it to him only to ensure his presence at the ruin of her whom he came to defend. On the 6th of December the sentence against Mary was proclaimed "with great solemnity and ceremony throughout the streets and public places in London, and, consequently, throughout the whole of the said kingdom. After the proclamation, the bells of the said town were rung, without ceasing, during twenty-four hours, and every inhabitant was ordered to kindle before his street-door bonfires, such as those we kindle in France on the eve of the day of St John the Baptist."³

¹ Speech of M. de Bellièvre to the Queen of England for the Queen of Scots.—Teulet, IV., 115-128.

² Answer of the Queen of England to the

ambassadors of France, le Sieur de Bellièvre and le Sieur de l'Aubespine Châteauneuf.—Teulet, IV., 129, 130.

³ Advis pour M. de Villeroy.—Teulet, IV., 142.

Through an excess of zeal, which might be called insolence, fires were kindled even under the windows of the French embassy, amid the hootings of the mob.¹ That impudent affront thrown in the face of the representatives of France, roused the indignation of the ambassadors; Bellièvre felt hurt and mortified. He asked Elizabeth, before proceeding further, to give him time to inform the King, his master, of what was going on. Elizabeth, with haughty words, and, under pretence of illness, refused to receive the ambassador's letter, and sent it to Walsingham. Three days later, Bellièvre received verbally the assurance that there would be a respite of twelve days. He at once sent to the Court of France the Viscount de Genlis, eldest son of the secretary, Brûlart, to acquaint Henry III. with the state of matters, and ask for fresh instructions. Henry III. encouraged the ambassadors in their difficult undertaking, and empowered them to try all means which prudence might suggest to bring Elizabeth to sentiments more befitting humanity.

Bellièvre requested another audience, which was granted him four or five days after. The ambassador defended Mary Stuart with a manly energy, made the more keen by the remembrance of his former failure. He, in the first place, put forward the wishes of King Henry III., his master, with regard to the Queen of Scots, and his grief on learning that the Queen of England was so unkind to her illustrious prisoner; he then entered upon the question of right, denied that Mary was under the jurisdiction of any other Queen, and reflected on the unseemly way in which she had been treated: "This noble Princess," said he, "is so humbled and trodden under foot that her greatest enemies ought to pity her, and therefore I plead for some clemency and kindness towards her at your Majesty's hands. What now remains for the Queen of Scots but a wretched life of a few short days? If she is innocent, she ought to be discharged; if you hold her guilty, it would be honourable and noble in you to pardon her. When your Majesty does so, then shall you do what Princes are wont to do. . . . Those who wish to reign well and happily, had better imprint on 'the table of the memory' the sacred words: 'thou shalt not kill;' blood calls for blood, and such doings often bring about a sad end."²

He tried to wean Elizabeth from her resolution by telling her that

¹ Mendoça to Philip II., 24th December.—Teulet, V., 438.

² The thing which was pointed out to the

Queen of England on the day of the Innocents, 6th January, according to the reformed calendar 1587.—Teulet, IV., 133 sq.

Christian Princes would thank her for her clemency, and that they were disposed to answer for Mary Stuart's conduct; but, as he met with no success he cast aside entreaty, and addressed threatening words to the flint-hearted Sovereign. "Monsieur de Bellièvre," cried she angrily, "are you charged by the King, my brother, to address me thus?" "Yes, Madam, I have his Majesty's express commands to that effect." "Have you that power signed by his hand?" asked the Queen. "Yes, Madam, the King, my master, your good brother, has expressly commended me and charged me, by letters signed with his own hand, to address to you remonstrances." "I ask from you as much, signed by your hand," added Elizabeth.¹ Bellièvre handed it to her at once, and prepared for his return, taking home with him only disgust at the course of events, and bitterly regretting that he had not been able to save Mary Stuart.

An ambassador from Elizabeth followed him soon after to Paris. He delivered to the King a letter in which Elizabeth slighted the Court of France, and demanded that the King should explain the terms used by Monsieur de Bellièvre. Far from excusing herself, the vain-glorious and brazen-faced daughter of Henry VIII. accused the King of supporting conspirators, and preferring a murderess to her. In reply to the menaces with which Henry III. had threatened her, she said: "your being aggrieved that I do not spare her life, is a hostile threat which, I assure you, shall never make me fear; on the contrary, it drives me at once to get rid of the cause of so many misfortunes;" such strong language showed clearly, that Elizabeth would neither heed nor respect the King of France. "I should not live an hour," said she, "could any Prince boast of so much humility from me as to drink such a draught of dishonour," to which she added this ironical counsel: "in the name of God, give not the reins to wild horses, lest they shake your saddle."²

Her deeds went far beyond her words. To over-reach the King of France, and stop any further intercession for Mary, Elizabeth conceived the diabolical idea of getting Châteauneuf led into some foul play, hoping that Henry III., busied in saving his ambassador, might forget his distress about the Queen of Scots. The idea was so speedily put into execution, that the ambassador sent by Elizabeth to the King of France, after the departure of M. de Bellièvre, took with him to the

¹ Advis pour M. de Villeroy.—Teulet, IV., 145; Egerton, 91-101.

² The Queen of England to the King, 18th January.—Bibliothèque Impériale, Supp. franç. 593, 421; Egerton, 98.

King, not only her complaints against Mary Stuart, but also a document charging Châteauneuf with conspiracy.

Immediately after M. de Bellièvre's departure, Stafford, brother of Elizabeth's ambassador in France, presented himself at the French embassy, and, addressing the secretary, Destrappes, said that there was in London, a man confined for debt, who was very anxious to speak with Châteauneuf, on a matter of great importance to the Queen of Scots. Wondering what the important matter might be, Châteauneuf made immediate enquiries. He sent Destrappes to the prisoner. The latter proposed to kill Queen Elizabeth, if the ambassador would undertake to pay his debts. Language so strange surprised Destrappes, who returned, along with Stafford, to inform Châteauneuf. Fortunately, the ambassador had lived too long in England, and had seen too closely and too often the vile tricks of the ministers, to allow himself to be entrapped. He turned Stafford out of his house, and forbade him again to set foot in it.

The next day Stafford, heedless of the ambassador's prohibition, again went to Destrappes, and begged to be taken along with him to France. Destrappes at once told his master. "Go and tell that fellow Stafford," replied the ambassador, "that I have forbidden him my house, and that he must leave at once, and that, did I not respect his relatives, I should, this very instant, inform the Queen of his proceedings."¹ Stafford was arrested the same day, and taken to the Tower, where he was soon joined by Destrappes, who had been seized at Dover. The ministers had recourse to their usual means to blind the eyes of the English people, and ruin the French ambassador; they forged compromising documents. The ambassador called before the Council, defended himself as best he could; but the ministers were bound to assert the value of the proofs they pretended to have in writing, and what could truth avail against a falsehood so bolstered up? Time, precious for Mary Stuart, was uselessly lost: Elizabeth, ashamed no doubt of such proceedings, tried to hush up the affair, but she took advantage of the pretended conspiracy, to close for several weeks, the ports of England, and thus keep the complaints of Henry III. from reaching her.²

James VI., till now lulled in indolence, was suddenly awakened from

¹ *Advis pour M. de Villeroy*.—Teulet, IV., 147.

² Murdin, 578-583. *Various State Papers*.—Teulet, IV., 147, 201; V., 463. I think the facts I have just related, can serve as a refutation of what Burnet says. (*History of his Own*

Times. The Hague Edition, I., 324). Henry III. may have been guilty of heedlessness, but I have never been able to bring myself to believe that he asked for Mary Stuart's death, as the English historian has it.

his apathy by the clamours of the Scottish lords. All the time Mary had been a prisoner, their minds, swayed by fear or sundered by rival interests, had, only at rare intervals, thought of her; but on the day of her sentence, a cry of astonishment and grief went forth throughout Scotland; the nation's pride was wounded in what it held most dear, and the nobles who had already braved so many dangers to shield their honour, rose to a man to save or avenge their Queen.¹ In presence of that bold resolve, James dared not falter; his wavering was at an end, and he seemed to remember that he was a King.² He sent William Keith to London, and charged him to come to terms with the ambassador of France,³ on behalf of his mother. At the same time, he wrote to his ordinary ambassador at the English Court: "thinke not that any your travellis can do goode, if hir lyfe be taikin; for then adeu with my dealing with thaime that are speciall instrumentis thairrof. And thairfore gif ye looke for contineuance of my fauore touartis you."⁴

Keith on his arrival, presented himself before Elizabeth, entreated her to spare the life of the Queen of Scots, and warned her, that in case of unwillingness, James VI., his master, must hold himself, in duty bound, to avenge her death. He handed her, at the same time, a letter, in which the young King used threats and prayers to save his mother's life.⁵ Elizabeth could not contain her wrath; she dismissed the envoy, and the next day wrote a violent letter to the King of Scotland. When the first movements of anger were over, an arrangement was thought of.

The Master of Gray was sent along with Robert Melville to make a last attempt; they were long refused an audience, and, when it was at last granted, they could not help asking themselves whether they had received a favour or an insult. In answer to the first words in reference to Mary Stuart's fate, Elizabeth spoke these freezing words: "I think it be extant yet, but I will not promise for an hour."⁶ The ambassadors, in the name of their master, and on the honour of the Scottish nobles, answered for all that Mary might thereafter attempt, and proposed a resignation, pure and simple, of her rights to the throne of England, in favour of her son: "that would be arming my enemy with two rights

¹ The clergy, and the fanatics ruled by clergy, did not, however, take part in the general movement.—Calderwood, 214; Sanderson, 120; Courcelles Despatches, 33-35.

² Courcelles Despatches, 8, 11-13, 19, 20.

³ Mendoça to Philip II., 7th December.—Teulet, V., 436.

⁴ King James VI. to Archibald Douglas; autograph without date.—British Museum, Cottonian MS. Caligula, C. IX., 432; Robertson's app.

⁵ Spottiswoode, II., 349-350.

⁶ A memorial for his Majesty.—Robertson's History, II., app.; Gray's Papers, 128.

instead of one, and making him stronger to do me hurt,"¹ answered Elizabeth. The word enemy called forth objections from the envoys, and Elizabeth, somewhat confused, begged them to believe that it was only a figure of speech. But she turned a deaf ear to the advances of the ambassadors, accused them of "using cunning" with her, and, with great fury, scorned the idea of Mary's resignation in favour of her son. "Is it so," she exclaimed, "then I put myself in a worse case than of before; by God's passion, that were to cut my own throat, and for a dutchy, or an earldom to yourself, you, or such as you, would cause some of your desperate knaves kill me. No, by God, he shall never be in that place." She left them with no queenly grace, bidding them tell the King of Scotland that Elizabeth had always supported him, and that in forsaking her, he was making a gross blunder. Just as she was leaving, Robert Melville asked her to spare Mary's life, for at least eight days. "Nay," replied she, sharply; "not for an hour."²

James, mad with rage, on learning what had happened, recalled his envoys. Slander pursued them, as it had pursued the French ambassador. They were accused of seeking the Queen's life; two pistols, given in a present to a lord of the Court, supplied the grounds for the imputation. That negotiation was as unfortunate for Mary as for the ambassadors. Gray was ruined by the blow; people report that he was heard to say to Elizabeth, in speaking of Mary Stuart, that "a corpse would bite no more." Yet the base intriguer managed to quiet James VI., keep him from acting in concert with foreign powers, and bring upon Archibald Douglas the vengeance which threatened to strike himself: treachery triumphed till the end.³

But of all the Christian Princes, none took more interest in Mary than the King of Spain. Unfortunately he was powerless; his relations with England had been broken off. Would to God that all kings had shown a like firmness! Elizabeth, isolated and under the weight of the threats of Europe, would never have dared to commit such a crime. Philip II., not being on terms with England, was unable to work efficiently for Mary's safety, and was obliged to have recourse to intimidation. "You can well understand," wrote he to Mendoça, "my painful feelings regarding the Queen of Scots; her courage and her religion make my grief the keener. Ah! may God help her as He is used to help His servants in so great trials! If she be not executed, and be

¹ *Mémoires pour les affaires du Roy, depuis le Partement de M. de Bellièvre.*—Teulet, IV., 166.

² A memorial for H.M.—Robertson's app., II., 444; Spottiswoode, II., 351 sq.

³ Camden, III., 486. Von Raumer, *Briefe aus Paris zur Erläuterung der Geschichte*, II., 143.

still kept in prison, see if it would not be useful, with the view of bringing Elizabeth to her senses, to hint to the English ambassadors resident in France, that by Mary's death, I should become master of England."¹

The threats of Philip II. had no more effect than the representations of the King of France or the anger of James VI.; they were all treated with contempt. Elizabeth was victorious, and Mary was soon to be no more.

Elizabeth gave throughout proofs of uncommon perfidy. She yielded in nothing to those who pleaded for Mary; nay, more, she even tried to practise on their credulity, that she might have grounds to complain of their conduct and persecute them; her bitter hatred reached even to their homes. The poor victim whom she had ruined, and those who craved her pardon, were equally hated by her; and with refined hypocrisy, the ruthless Queen wished to be thought innocent, while she aimed her un pitying darts, worked for and brought about sentence of death, and already gloated over the thought, that she should be alone in the world as a Queen and as a woman, after the death of Mary Stuart, whose grief had never touched her heart, whose good name she had sullied, and whose entreaties she had spurned. Such acts would have put to the blush the tyrants of Imperial Rome. Tiberius and Domitian would have thought themselves accursed after like savageness.

When Parliament asked the sentence to be carried out, Elizabeth was the more overjoyed at it, as she believed herself thereby cleared; but the prudent and crafty Queen feigned to deliberate betwixt clemency and justice, betwixt attachment for her relative and duty to her subjects, and took care to hint that, but for the love of her people, she could never have made up her mind to sign the death-warrant of Mary Stuart. "So many and so great," said she, "are the unmeasurable Graces and Benefits bestow'd upon me by the Almighty, that I must not only most humbly acknowledge 'em as Benefits, but admire 'em as Miracles, being in no sort able to express 'em. And tho' none alive can more justly acknowledge himself bound to God than I, whose Life he has miraculously preserv'd from so many Dangers: yet am I not more deeply bound to give him Thanks for any one thing, than for this which I will now tell you, and which I account as a Miracle: namely, That as I came to the Crown with the hearty Good-will of all my Subjects, so now, after twenty-eight Years Reign, I perceive in 'em the

¹ Philip II. to Mendoça, 28th January.—Teulet, V., 462.

same, if not greater Affection towards me ; which should I once lose, I might perhaps find myself to breathe, but never could I think that I were alive. And now tho' my Life has been dangerously shot at, yet I protest there is nothing has more griev'd me, than that one who differs not from me in Sex, one of like Quality and Degree, of the same Race and Stock, and so nearly related to me in Blood, should fall into so great a Misdemeanour. And so far have I been from bearing her any ill-will, that upon the Discovery of some treasonable Practises against me, I wrote privately to her, that if she would confess and acknowledge them by a Letter betwixt her and me, they should be wrapp'd up in Silence. Neither did I write this with a purpose to intrap her ; for I knew already as much as she could confess. And even yet, tho' the matter be come thus far, if she would truly repent, and no Man would undertake her Cause against me, and if my Life alone depended here-upon, and not the Safety and Welfare of all my People, I would (I protest unfeignedly) willingly and readily pardon her. Nay, if England might, by my Death, obtain a more flourishing Condition, and a better Prince, I would most gladly lay down my Life. For, for your Sakes it is, and for my People's, that I desire to live. As for me, I see no such great Reason (according as I have led my Life) why I should either be fond to live, or fear to die. I have had good Experience of this World ; I have known what it is to be a Subject, and I now know what it is to be a Sovereign. Good Neighbours I have had, and I have met with bad ; and in Trust I have found Treason. I have bestow'd Benefits upon Ill-deservers ; and where I have done well, I have been ill-requited and spoken of. While I call to mind these things past, behold things present, and look forward toward things to come, I count them happiest that go hence soonest. Nevertheless against such Evils and Mischiefs as these, I am arm'd with a better Courage than is common in my Sex ; so as whatever befalls me, Death shall never find me unprepar'd."

"And as touching these treasonable Attempts, I will not so far wrong my self, or the Laws of my Kingdom, as not to think but that she, having been the Contriver of the said Treasons, was bound and liable to the ancient and former Laws, and tho' the late Act had never been made ; which, notwithstanding, was in no sort made to prejudice her, as divers who are inclined to favour her have imagined. So far was it from being made to intrap her, that it was rather intended to forewarn and deter her from attempting any thing against it. But seeing it had now the Force of a Law, I thought good to proceed against

her according to the same. But you Lawyers are so curious in scanning the nice Points of the Law, and proceeding according to Forms, rather than expounding and interpreting the Laws themselves, that if your way were observed, she must have been indicted in Staffordshire, and have holden up her Hand at the Bar, and have been try'd by a Jury of Twelve Men. A proper way, forsooth, of trying a Princess. To avoid, therefore, such Absurdities, I thought it better to refer the Examination of so weighty a Cause, to a select Number of the noblest Personages of the Land, and the Judges of the Realm : and all little enough. For we Princes are set as it were upon Stages in the Sight and View of all the World : the least Spot is soon spy'd in our Garments, the smallest Blemish presently observed in us at a great Distance. It behoves us therefore to be careful that our Proceedings be just and honourable. But I must tell you one thing, that by this last Act of Parliament, you have reduc'd me to such Straits and Perplexities, that I must resolve upon the Punishment of her who is a Princess so nearly ally'd to me in Blood, and whose Practices against me have so deeply affected me with Grief and Sorrow, that I have willingly chosen to absent myself from this Parliament, lest I should increase my Trouble by hearing the Matter mention'd ; and not out of Fear of any Danger or treacherous Attempts against me, as some think. But I will now tell you a farther Secret (tho' it be not usual with me to blab forth in other cases what I know). It is not long since these Eyes of mine saw and read an Oath wherein some bound themselves to kill me within a Month. Hereby I see your Danger in my Person, which I will be very careful to prevent and keep off."

" The Association you entered into for my Safety, I have not forgotten, a thing I never so much as thought of, till a great number of Hands and Seals to it were shew'd me. This has laid a perpetual Tie and Obligation upon me, to bear you a singular Good-will and Love, who have no greater Comfort than in your and the Commonwealth's Respect and Affection towards me. But, forasmuch as the matter now in hand is very rarely example'd, and of greatest Consequence, I hope you do not look for any present Resolution from me ; for my manner is, in Matters of less Moment than this, to deliberate long upon that which is but once to be resolved. In the meantime, I beseech Almighty God, so to illuminate and direct my Heart, that I may see clearly what may be best for the Good of His Church, the Prosperity of the Commonwealth, and your Safety. And, that Delay may not breed Danger, we will signify our Resolution to you with all conveniency.

And whatever the best of Subjects may expect at the Hands of the best Princess, that expect from me to be perform'd to the full."

Two days after, the Queen sent Chancellor Bromley to the Lords, and Puckering to the Commons, to beseech them to seek together for some loophole by which the Queen of Scots might escape, while making sure of the safety of the State and her own life. The Lords and Commons proposed four plans: sincere repentance on the part of Mary; her word that she would not again stir, with hostages as guarantees; a stricter custody, or exile. Those schemes were set aside, because true repentance could not be looked for from a Queen who did not even own her crime, and because imprisonment and hostages were useless if Elizabeth happened to be killed; in short, because she, who from the depths of her prison, kept Europe in a state of alarm, might set everything a-blaze when she had regained her freedom.¹ The Lords and Commons, to a man, called for Mary's death, and if they are to be held dishonoured by that step, one does not know how to qualify the words they used, puzzling as it is to find out whether they are the result of ignominy or madness. "When entering the Association," said Puckering, "we bound ourselves by oath to kill the Queen of Scots; if we do it without warrant, we deserve blame; if we do not kill her we are perjured. . . . Wavering on the part of your Majesty would be an offence to God, who has given this wicked Princess into your hands that you may put her to death. That would be like Saul sparing Agag, or Ahab forgiving Benhadad. No," exclaimed he, "as it were Injustice to deny Execution of the Law to any Subject who should demand it, so much more to the whole Body of the People of England, unanimously, and with one Voice, humbly and instantly suing for the same."²

The desire for Mary's death, long pent in the bosoms of the English, was growing stronger, and was soon to shew itself. Rage began to burn against the wavering Queen. She was told that her kindness was akin to weakness, was only a silly forbearance, and that it showed a wondrously strange indifference to her own safety. The people, making a parade of their blind affection, loaded the innocent prisoner with curses, thinking that, a holy as well as patriotic work. Prayers were offered up to God to work such a change in the heart of Queen Elizabeth as should bring about what the people wished.³

¹ Camden, III., 469.

² D'Ewes' Journal, 401; Prince Labanoff, VII., 214.

³ Abridgment of Puckering's Petition, in D'Ewes' Journal, 401; Camden, 470; Howell's Trials, I., 1195 sq.

Elizabeth was wild with joy, and yet she was able to hide her delight. When she answered the Lords and Commons, she twisted her features to make them rueful, and spoke in a sad yet brisk off-hand manner, which tore off the mask. "Very unpleasing," said she, "is that Way, where the Setting out, Progress and Journey's End, yield nothing but Trouble and Vexation. I have this day been in greater Conflict with myself than ever I was in all my life, whether I should speak or hold my peace. If I should speak, and not complain, I shall dissemble; if I should be silent, all your Labour and Pains taken were in vain; and if I should complain, it might seem a strange and unusual thing. Yet I confess that my hearty Desire was, that some other means might have been devised, to provide for your Security and my own Safety, than this which is now propounded. So that I cannot but complain, tho' not of you, yet to you, since I perceive by your Petition, that my Safety depends wholly on the Ruin of another. If there be any that think I have spun out the time on purpose to get Commendation, by a seeming show of Clemency, they do me wrong undeservedly, as He knows, who is the Searcher of the most secret Thoughts of the Heart. Or if there be any that are persuaded the Commissioners durst pronounce no other Sentence for fear they should thereby displease me, or seem to fail of their Care for my Preservation, they do but burden and wrong me with such injurious Conceits. For either those whom I put in Trust have fail'd of their Duties; or else they acquainted the Commissioners in my Name that my Will and Pleasure was, that every one should act freely according to his Conscience; and what they thought not fit to be made publick, that they should communicate to me in private. It was of my favourable Inclination towards her that I desired some other way might be found out, to prevent this Mischief. But since it is now resolved that my Security is desperate without her Death, I find a great Reluctancy and Trouble within me, that I, who have in my time pardon'd so many Rebels, wink'd at so many Treasons, or neglected 'em by Silence, should now seem to shew myself cruel towards so great a Princess."

"As touching your Counsels and Consultations, I acknowledge 'em to have been with such Care and Providence, and so advantageous for the Preservation of my Life, and to proceed from Hearts so sincere and devoted to me, that I shall endeavour what lies in my Power, to give you cause to think your Pains not ill bestowed, and strive to shew myself worthy of such subjects."

"And now for your Petition, I desire you for the present to content yourself with an Answer without Answer. Your Judgment I condemn not, neither do I mistake your Reasons; but I must desire you to excuse those thoughtful Doubts and Cares, which as yet perplex my mind; and to rest satisfy'd with the Profession of my thankful Esteem of your Affections, and the Answer I have given, if you take it for any Answer at all. If I should say I will not do what you request, I might say perhaps more than I intend; and if I should say I will do it, I might plunge myself into as bad Inconveniences as you endeavour to preserve me from."¹

That studied speech shows clearly that Elizabeth wavered only in show, and that she wished to have the murder done by authority of the Lords and Commons;² so, immediately after the speech, Parliament was prorogued, lest, doubtless, it might consider Elizabeth's grief real, and seek some other means of keeping safe, not only the life of the Queen, but also her seeming tenderness of heart. Mary was to be no longer thought of; her sentence was ratified, and the wretched lady had now only to prepare her soul, before meeting death as a criminal, on a scaffold raised by the hands of her heartless rival.

¹ Camden, III., 470 sq.

² "Era noto a Sisto et a tutti i principi che Isabella niente più che la morte di lei desiderava et che sotto specie di non volere ne

averebbe con ogni efficacia commendata l'esecuzione."—Estratto dagli Annali de Sisto V., MS. Archives Secrètes du Capitol, a copy, 2 verso, and 6 recto.

CHAPTER XXV.

1586—1587.

MARY STUART IS TOLD OF HER SENTENCE—INSOLENCE OF PAULET—NOBLE WORDS OF MARY
—HER LETTERS TO ELIZABETH, POPE SIXTUS V., MENDOCA, ETC.—ELIZABETH'S ANXIETY
—SHE ASKS SIR AMYAS TO MURDER MARY—NOBLE REPLY—DAVISON—ARRIVAL OF THE
EXECUTIONERS AT FOTHERINGAY—BEARING OF MARY STUART—HER LAST SUPPER—THE
EVENING BEFORE THE EXECUTION—THE 8TH OF FEBRUARY—DEATH OF MARY STUART.

IN the foregoing pages I have set forth the efforts made by the Kings of France, Scotland and Spain to save Mary from death, without, however, mentioning her, lest I should make the story dark and tangled, by telling, at one and the same time, what was going on in London and at Fotheringay. My desire was to give the negotiations in a single chapter, and then have nothing to do but tell of the matchless woman whose life I now write: in the last chapter I was forced to lay aside the order of dates which I had till then followed with great care and truth, and I must now again take up the story further back.

Since the trial at Fotheringay, Mary, shut up in that Castle, had heard no news from the outside. A dreadful silence haunted her prison; countenances were either heedless or awe-struck; and the stern Paulet did not know whether he ought to treat her as a Queen or as a criminal. That seeming lull, telling neither of life nor of death, was worse than the certainty of the latter. At length, on the 13th of November, the doors of the dreadful Castle were thrown open for Elizabeth's envoys, Lord Buckhurst and Beale, Clerk of Council, always a bad messenger. They told Mary that the States had condemned her, that she must prepare to die, and that, to assist her, a Bishop or Dean would be sent to her. They, moreover, stated that for two reasons she must die: Elizabeth's safety, in the first place; in the next, and of the greatest moment, the interests of Protestantism. Mary listened to them quietly, and answered that she thanked God for being called to shed her blood for so great a cause. The envoys having made her observe that she should never be either a saint or a martyr, being condemned for having wished to kill and dethrone Elizabeth, she however defended herself

and denied having approved, advised or ordered a crime so detestable.¹

The next day Paulet and Drue Drury, another keeper of Mary Stuart, went to the prisoner, blamed her obstinacy in not confessing her crime, and told her that Elizabeth, driven to extremities, had sent them orders to take away the dais, and treat her "as a dead woman, without any honour or queenly dignity." "I am a Queen," said Mary, "and have been so anointed and consecrated: from God I hold that dignity, to Him alone I shall give it up with my life. I by no means recognise your Queen as my superior, nor her heretic counsellors as my judges: despite their efforts, I shall die a Queen. They have no more power over me than thieves in the corner of a wood: God, I hope, will take up my cause and make His justice shine forth. Besides, I shall die with my right, like Richard and so many other Princes of this kingdom, unjustly put to death."²

Paulet flattered himself that he could get the dais taken down by the captive's servants. He gave them orders to that effect, but, instead of obeying, they cursed the gaoler, so that he had at last to call in his soldiers, and make them remove that last vestige of degraded royalty, and, with it, all respect vanished: Paulet sat covered in the presence of the Queen of Scots. In the face of such an affront, the victim forgot not that she was a Christian, and at the spot where formerly had shone the proud arms of Scotland, she had an humble crucifix put up.³

Forsaken by all, degraded and basely outraged, Mary now thought only of bidding farewell to the earth she was about to leave. Her first thought was for Elizabeth. "Madam," she wrote to her, "I thank God with all my heart that He has been pleased, through your sentence, to end this, my weary pilgrimage. I do not wish it to be longer, as I have had but too much time to feel its bitterness. This, only, I entreat of your Majesty, that since I am to look for no favour from those zealous ministers who are in the first rank in the State of England, I may be indebted to you alone for the blessings which follow." She then begged that she might be executed in public, and that her body be taken to France and buried in holy ground.⁴

She then wrote to the Pope, protesting her inviolable attachment to the Catholic faith, told him of her resignation, asked him for his bless-

¹ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 24th Nov.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 466 sq.

² Caussin, Jebb, II., 91; Prince Labanoff, VI., 464; Dargaud, 407.

³ Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 24th November.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 469, 470.

⁴ Jebb, II., 91.

ing and prayers, and, lastly, commended to his care her "poor child," begging him to be to her boy a "true father, as St John the Evangelist was to the youth whom he saved from the company of thieves." "Behold," she added, "the secret of my heart and the end of my worldly desires, anxious, as you see, for the good of the Church and the discharge of my conscience, which I lay at the feet of your holiness."¹ Her letters to Mendoça, the Duke de Guise and the Archbishop of Glasgow, show a resignation no longer savouring of this world. She speaks of her death with touching calmness. "I know neither how nor when I may die," said she; "but at least you can assure and praise God for me that, through His grace, I have gladly received that very unjust sentence of the heretics because of the happiness I feel in shedding my blood at the call of the enemies of His Church. . . . They are working in my room, and are, I think, making a scaffold whereon I shall play the last act of the tragedy."² There was no bitter word; and if something still reminded her of the earth, it was the fate of her son being trained up in heresy, and that of her servants. "Farewell, once more," said she to Mendoça, "I again recommend to you my poor desolate servants, and please you pray God for my soul."³ Those sweet sentiments were still with her, without robbing her of peace of mind; they served to make her only the more interesting.

It is especially in her letter to the Duke de Guise that Mary unfolds with most simplicity the feelings which animated her. "My good Cousin," says she to him, "the dearest I have in the world, I bid you adieu, being, by an unjust sentence, about to meet death in a way such as none of our race, thanks be to God, has ever been made to do, far less one of my quality; but, my good Cousin, praise God for it, for, placed as I was, I have been unable to do anything for God and His Church; and I hope my death may testify my constancy in the faith and my readiness to die for the good and restoration of the Catholic Church in this unfortunate island; and though no axe ever drank our blood, be not ashamed of it, my friend, for the judgment of heretics and enemies of the Church, and of those who have no jurisdiction over me, a free Queen, does good, in the eyes of God, to the children of His Church. If I had joined them, this blow should not have fallen upon me. All those of our house have been persecuted by that sect: witness

¹ Mary Stuart to Pope Sixtus V., 23d Nov.
—Prince Labanoff, VI., 453, 454.

² Mary Stuart to Mendoça, 23d November.
—Prince Labanoff, VI., 458, 459.

³ Idem, *ibid.*, 461.

your good father, whom I hope to meet by the mercy of the great Judge. I now recommend to you my servants, the payment of my debts and the founding of some yearly obit for my soul, not at your expense, but according to the request and order which you shall learn from my poor desolate servants, eye-witnesses of the end of my tragic life."

"May God grant prosperity to you, your wife, children, brothers and cousins, and especially to our chief, my good brother and cousin (the Duke de Lorraine), and all his; may the blessing of God, and that which I would give my children, rest upon yours, whom I commend to God, not less than I do my own son, unfortunate and misguided though he is."

"You shall receive from me tokens to remind you to say a prayer for the soul of your poor Cousin, shut out from all advice and aid, except that of God, who gives me strength and courage alone to keep at bay so many wolves howling after me: God's be the glory of it!" . . .

"I have suffered much for two years and more, but I would not let you know for important reasons. God be praised for all, and grant you grace to cling to the service of His Church as long as you live, and may that honour never leave our race; may we, men and women as many as we are, be ready to shed our blood to uphold the faith, casting aside all worldly thoughts; as for me, I consider myself by my birth, both on my father's and on my mother's side, bound to give up my blood for the holy cause, and I think not of deserting the standard of the Holy Mother Church. Jesus, and all the holy martyrs crucified for us, make us, through their intercession, worthy of the free offering of our lives for His glory!"¹

The poor Queen, so often forsaken by men, would not forsake any one. Lest her wishes might not be fulfilled, she tried to impress them on the minds of all those to whom she wrote: "I commend to you my poor servants, so often commended already," wrote she to the Archbishop of Glasgow; "again I commend them to you in the name of God. They have lost all, losing me. Bid them farewell from me, and console them by charity. Commend me to la Ruhe;"² remind him that I promised him to die for religion, and tell him I have kept my word. I beg for myself the prayers of all of his order."

"I am very pleased, and have always been, at the thought of laying down my life for the salvation of the souls of this island. Adieu for

¹ Mary Stuart to the Duke de Guise, 24th November.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 462 sq.

² Her former chaplain.

the last time, and cherish the remembrance of the soul and honour of her who was your Queen, mistress and good friend ; and if, through hearsay, or other learning of your services, I found any fault with you, I now forgive and beg you, and all my servants, to forgive me for all that I may have done, whether justly or unjustly angry, protesting that I hold none of you in any way guilty towards me ; for I should feel, especially as regards you, the principal and oldest of my servants, constrained to acknowledge your own services, if God granted me longer days ; for want of those, I shall pray God that, at the end of my life, he may reward you for me. God be with you and all my servants, whom I leave to you as children.”¹

Three weeks had gone since she heard her sentence, but she had not, as yet, received any further tidings, either good or bad. The loneliness in which she was after the excitement at Fotheringay, broken in upon for a moment by the arrival of Buckhurst and Beale, had begun again. “Silence more dreadful than severest sounds” was around her. Mary knew not what to think of quiet so unbroken ; but, well aware of the deceit of the ministers, she feared lest they might try to get rid of her in some stealthy way, either by the dagger or by poison. She, in consequence, wrote to Elizabeth and told of her fears and feelings. The letter, written on the steps of the scaffold, is stamped with supreme sadness and also with sovereign grandeur: “Madam,” says she, “in honour of Jesus (Whose Name all powers obey) I pray you after my enemies shall have quenched their burning thirst with my innocent blood, to allow my poor forlorn servants to have my body to bury in holy ground near some of my relatives who are in France, near, I pray you, the late Queen, my mother ; I ask you that favour, because in Scotland the bodies of the Kings, my ancestors, have been outraged, and the churches destroyed and profaned, and also because, suffering in this country, I cannot be laid beside your forefathers, who are mine also ; and, moreover, because, by our religion, we much value being buried in sanctified ground. Again, since I have been told that you wish in no way to force my conscience in religion, and have even granted me a priest, I hope you will not refuse me this last request, but grant free burial to the body from which the soul shall have risen, seeing that, while united, they never could live in peace, though your peace were thereby made secure : I do not impute it to you as a crime before God ; but may the whole truth dawn upon you after my death.

¹ Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 24th November.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 471, 472.

Considering also, that I dread the secret tyranny of several in whose hands you have left me, I pray that you will not allow me to be put to death without your knowledge; not from any fear of the torture which I am about to endure, but through dread of the rumours, sure to be spread, if death should come, and none trustworthy nigh; such has already happened, I am sure, to others of various ranks. That is why I desire that my servants be near me at the last, as eye-witnesses of my death, and of my faith in our Saviour and of my obedience to His Church, and that they together bear away my body as secretly as it may please you, and also take the movables or other things I may bequeath to them; poor trifles when weighed against their good services. As for the jewel which I received from you, shall I send it back to you with my last words, or even sooner? I again entreat you to allow me to send a jewel and a last farewell to my son, with my last blessing which he had not, as you informed me that he had refused to sign a treaty in which I should be included; by the hapless advice of what persons? I leave this last point to your heart and conscience. As for the others, I entreat you in the name of Jesus Christ, in the name of our kindred, in the name of Henry VII., your forefather and mine, I entreat you by the high dignity which we have held, and by your woman's heart, to grant my prayer."

"I think, moreover, you must have heard that, in your name, my dais has been pulled down. I was afterwards told that it was not done by your command, but by order of some of your councillors. I pray God that such a cruel order, serving only to do mischief and grieve me in my preparation for death, did not come from you. I think it has been thus in many other things, and fear liberty to write you has been withheld till I should be dragged down as low as can be from my royalty and high estate, my keepers telling me the while, that I was nothing but an ordinary woman dead to all civil rights and shorn of all my honours."

"God be praised for all!"¹

Elizabeth did not answer that letter. She could not have answered it, even had she wished to do so. The sentence passed on the Queen of Scots and the embassies from Princes had given rise to a number of reports which were added to, day by day. The people, sunk in fear, felt an unspeakable uneasiness; secret terrors plied individuals and families, and the ministers, instead of allaying the general fear, again

¹ Mary Stuart to Elizabeth, 19th December.—Prince Labanoff, VI., 476-479.

inflamed the public mind. The wildest rumours were welcomed with feverish greediness; the people dared not breathe; fright overmastered courage. It was said the Spanish fleet was already in Milford Haven, and that the Duke de Guise was in Sussex with a numerous army; that the Queen of Scots had been seen at the head of Scottish troops; that the North was in revolt, and that the enemy was marching on London; some even asserted that Elizabeth had just expired under the dagger, and that London was on fire.¹ Those false rumours seemed the more undoubted, as they had been rife at the time of the Babington Conspiracy. The people, in general, believed that the conspiracy was not over, though it had failed, and that the taking of the conspirators had only delayed the course of events; the falsity of the first reports confirmed the second.

The courtiers, wayward by nature, saw their advantage, and demanded Mary's death, in the interests of the country and the Queen. They supported their reasons by domestic arguments; the history of England, unfortunately, provided them with only too many. From Henry I. down to Henry VIII. the chain of assassinations was many-linked.

Whether it be from malice or scruple, Elizabeth was undecided: she had entirely given up pleasures and rejoicings. Her face had become gloomy. She was often seen wandering in out of the way places, and while fiercely arguing with herself, was heard to say these dreadful words, "*Aut fer aut feri*" (Suffer on or be killed), to which she added, "*Ne feriare, feri*" (Kill, lest you be killed). The words showed the thought. She would have some one rid her noiselessly of her troublesome rival, but Thomas à Becket's time was long gone by. The courtiers pitied her, but none made up his mind to befriend her.

But conscience, the "innate whisperer," was not eased by those bursts of passion, and she sent for Secretary Davison. He went to the Palace with the warrant for Mary's execution ready drawn out by Burghley. Elizabeth read it over, at once signed it,² and handed it back to the Secretary, saying, "Go and tell Walsingham what I have just done; only, I fear he will be very much grieved on learning the sad news; and yet," added she, "Paulet and Drury might have relieved me of this burden: you and Walsingham ought to sound their dispositions."³ She sent away the Secretary, forbidding him ever again to

¹ Camden, III., 486; Ellis, II., iii., 107, 109.

² "I delivered it unto her hands; after the reading whereof, she, calling for pen and ink,

signed it."—Davison's Apology, Chalmers, III., 618.

³ Davison's Apology, *ibidem*, 621.

speak to her of a matter with which she did not wish to be troubled further. On the same day, Walsingham and Davison wrote to Paulet and Drue Drury an abominable letter, in which they reproached them with indifference for Elizabeth, and their little fidelity to their oath, since, despite the Act of Association, they had not found, without any fresh provocation, the means of taking the life of the Queen of Scots; "And therefore," said they, "H. M. taketh it most unkindly, that men professing that love towards her that you do, should in a kind of sort, for lack of the discharge of your duties, cast the burden upon her, knowing, as you do, her indisposition to shed blood, especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood as the said Queen is." They concluded by leaving the matter to their "good judgments," and commending them "to the protection of the Almighty."¹

Paulet treated the letter with the contempt it merited; but he was at the same time much grieved. Led away by fierce fanaticism, the harsh Puritan could become the stern, un pitying gaoler; but he was too much the man of honour to consent to play the part of assassin. He answered Walsingham: "Sir, your letters of yesterday morning coming to my hands this present day at 5 p.m., I would not fail, according to your direction, to return my answer with all possible speed; which I shall deliver unto you with great grief and bitterness of mind, in that I am so unfortunate as living to see this unhappy day, in which I am required, by direction from my most gracious Sovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. My goods and living and life are at her Majesty's disposition, and I am ready to lose them the next morrow, if it shall please her, acknowledging that I do hold them as of her meer and most gracious favour, and do not design to enjoy them, but with her Highness good liking; but God forbid I should make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience, or leave so great a blot to my poor posterity, and shed blood without law or warrant. . . . Drw Drury subscribeth in heart to my opinion."²

Such a blank refusal compelled Elizabeth to change her plans. Her object now was to drive Davison into the fatal track which Paulet had just left so nobly, and thus have a victim on whose shoulders she might lay all the blame. Even before Elizabeth knew the nature of Paulet's reply, she had sworn, in order to cast the stigma from off herself, to make the poor Secretary the scapegoat. She blamed him for too great haste

¹ Walsingham and Davison to Sir Amyas Paulet and Drue Drury.—Mackenzie's *Lives*, III., 340.

² Paulet's answer to Walsingham's letter.—Mackenzie, III., 341.

in affixing the seal to the warrant, although she herself had, on the day before, given him the formal order to do so, while on the 3d of February (o.s.) she told him that she dreamt she had severely punished him for the death of the Queen of Scots. Those words, trifling as they were, alarmed Davison; he thought he saw in them a foreboding of his fate. He therefore asked Elizabeth whether, or not, she intended to proceed with the execution of the warrant. "Yes, indeed," replied the Queen, supporting her words with a stiff oath.

Such was Elizabeth's resolution, when Davison brought her Paulet's answer; after scanning it over, she gave vent to her displeasure in very bitter words. "I detest," she said, "the niceness of those precise fellows who are all words, not deeds." Davison remarked that Sir Amyas could not put the Queen of Scots to death without seriously compromising the English government, while for Elizabeth to allow the murder in secret, was to blast her reputation for ever, and, to punish the keeper of Mary, was to strike a faithful servant. Elizabeth thought the advice out of place, abruptly left the Secretary, and never again spoke to him on the subject.¹

Davison, a prey to uncertainty, and dreading prosecution by his Sovereign, appealed to the lords of Council, to get from them a reply which might clear him. The reply was, that he must send off the warrant and have it executed. The Secretary silently complied, and handed it to Beale, Clerk of the Council, with a letter signed by Burghley, Leicester and Walsingham, commanding the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent to see the execution carried out.

The arrival of Beale spread terror among the servants of the prisoner Queen. They wondered what fearful tidings the ill-omened messenger now brought; but, learning nothing on the morrow, they became calm again. On the 7th, in the morning, the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, and the Sheriff of Northamptonshire, came one after the other. There was now no longer any doubt that Mary was about to be put to death. The unwonted thronging, and especially the coming of the Earl of Shrewsbury, Grand Marshal of England, charged to carry out executions, turned their dread into certainty.

At two o'clock, the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury sent word to the Queen that they wished to speak with her. Mary answered that feeling unwell, she had kept her bed, but that if the commission did not admit of delay, she would rise to hear it. On their reply, she got up

¹ Davison's Apology.—Chalmers, III., 630, 631.

and seated herself at a small work-table placed near her bed ; her servants and maids stood around her. The Earl of Shrewsbury, his head uncovered, then informed her that the sentence pronounced against her, was about to be carried out, and that the Queen of England had seen herself forced to let matters take their course to satisfy the imperious demands of her subjects. Beale then read the warrant which condemned her "as much on account of the Gospel and true religion of Christ as for the peace and quiet of the State."¹ When he had done, Mary made the sign of the cross : "God be praised," said she, "for the happy news which you bring me. I could receive none better, since I am about to quit this world where I have suffered so much, and since I die for the Catholic Apostolic and Roman faith. I did not think that the Queen, my sister, would consent to the death of a Princess who is not under your laws ; but since such is her good pleasure, I am willing to die : if this body cannot bear the executioner's blow, the soul must be unworthy of heaven. Besides, if one thing consoles me in presence of the ignominy of the scaffold, it is the cause for which I die." She spoke on for a long time with great spirit, then resting her hand on the Gospel lying on the table, she denied all part in the conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth. "Your Papist book is false," exclaimed the Earl of Kent, "and your oath as false as the book." "It is the book of my faith," rejoined the Queen, "and it is a good book : Do you think my oath would be better if taken on your heretic book in which I do not believe."

She then begged the commissioners to allow her to speak with her confessor, but that, the Earl of Kent refused, offering her, however, the Bishop or the Dean of Peterborough, that she might profit by their teaching and abjure before dying, "her papistical follies and childish abominations." "I have already consented," replied Mary, "to hear the most learned of your ministers, and have talked and argued with them. I have done so through condescension and I repent it. . . . far from converting me, their language has only strengthened me in my faith. I have seen in the new heresy, only blasphemy and falsehood,

¹ It is remarkable that the sentence, contrary to the usual form, does not say that Mary was convicted of attempting the life of Elizabeth, but only that "la détention d'icelle estoit et seroit iournellement un certain et évident danger non pas seulement pour nostre vie (Elizabeth speaks) mais aussi à eux-mêmes (her subjects) et à leur postérité." The danger

incurred by the subjects and *to be incurred* by their posterity, is then assimilated to the danger which *has threatened* and *might threaten* the Queen, and Mary has been condemned as dangerous, not as guilty. I am of opinion that the sentence speaks truly, and that it is just in its bearing.—Jebb, II., 613.

and among its authors, none save voluptuous people, seeking only their liberty and ease, varnished consciences, and famous doctors, whose teaching rests on a foundation as brittle as the ice of one night's frost."

During that discourse, Mary had inflamed herself with zeal; the sight of a scaffold gave her superhuman energy and ardour, instead of making her grow pale and dumb. On the eve of martyrdom, she was already filled with strength from on High. Her brow was lighted up with a divine flame, and her language was keen and cutting as a two-edged sword. "God," continued she, "has given me the grace to hold firmly to my religion; it is not now the time to doubt or change or allow my faith to be shaken. On the contrary, if that moment ever befel me, the time has now come to show myself more firm, more constant and more affectionate. Rather than recant, I would give a thousand lives if I had them, I would shed the last drop of my precious blood, and endure the most frightful tortures and most refined cruelties.¹ Happy indeed I am to have to suffer so much for my God and my religion: no, no, My Lords, bid me not again recant; give me rather my chaplain, and let me prepare for death. O! grant that, my last request!" The Earl of Kent refused, and again insisted that she should receive the clergymen; getting no reply, he spitefully exclaimed: "your life would be the death of our religion, your death shall be its salvation." Then touched by the prisoner's nobleness of soul, and ashamed of having lost his temper, he added that the zeal and care, which he had for her salvation, had made him speak thus.

Mary did not answer. She gently thought of the morrow. "When is the execution to take place?" asked she of the Earl of Shrewsbury. "To-morrow, at eight o'clock," answered the Earl with a faltering voice. Mary then inquired about the feelings of her son, and about the Kings, her relatives, asked for her chaplain, and spoke of her will, her funeral and her servants; she desired that each should be allowed to go home with the little she should leave them. The Earls made no definite reply, excused themselves on the grounds of powerlessness, and promised to have her last wishes carried out as best they could.

Without loss of time, Mary began to settle the order of her last day.

¹ Nineteen years before Don Frances de Alava wrote to Philip II., "que ella estava firme en la fee aunque la hagan pedaços," 30th October 1568; Teulet, V., 43, and 4th March, 1570; que la dicha viviria y moriria constantissima en la fee catholica."—Ibidem, 54. Pope Pius V. congratulated Mary on the 13th July,

1570: "quod omnipotentis Dei benignitati ac misericordie sic confidere videtur ut firmiter speret se nullis neque periculorum ac tormentorum denuntiationibus, neque premiorum pollicitationibus, ab Ecclesie Catholice communione atque obedientia avelli possit."—Teulet, V., 62.

First, she ordered supper to be ready earlier than usual, that she might have more time to pray God, and see to her affairs, and, as she noticed her servants melting into tears, she said to them: "My children, there is no further need to weep; it is of no avail; what now do you fear? you ought, much rather, to rejoice at seeing me about to be freed from the many ills and sorrows which I have borne so long: I am worthless in this world, I can do no good to any one; be consoled then with me, that God has allowed me to die for so good a cause: I am grateful to Him, and thank Him from my inmost heart, that it has pleased Him to call me at this hour, and that He has given me to die for His Holy Name, His True Religion, and His Church: a greater blessing could not be mine in this world."¹

All the men then went out of her chamber, sobbing. Mary remained alone with her maids of honour, prayed for a long time, and then divided her money among her servants. The supper hour having struck, she sat down, ate little, as was her wont, and calmly spoke of her death; then addressing Bourgoyn, her physician, she said that she was glad to die for her religion, and that the Earl of Kent had brought her most welcome news, and added, smiling, that it would have taken a more learned man than he was, to convert her. While she spoke, Bourgoyn, deeply moved, burst into tears. He could not bear the thought, that on the morrow, Mary must die, that this supper was her last meal, that the next dawn should light up the mournful scene, and that he should never again behold his beloved mistress.

At the end of the supper, Mary sent for her servants, and having poured out some wine into a cup, she drank to their health, and invited them to drink to her salvation. They all knelt down weeping, and raised to their lips the cups, in which their tears mingled with the wine. She asked them to forgive her, as she forgave them. "My children," said she to them, "I am about to leave you. I pray you be ever firm and constant in your religion, and let there never be among you the least enmity or the slightest jealousy: forget your feuds, and live together henceforth as brethren." Some one having told her that they should agree so much the better as Nau was no longer among them, "He," answered the Queen, "is the cause of my death;² I die for him; yet

¹ "Vous voyez," continued she, "n'estes vous pas tesmoins maintenant pourquoy ils me font mourir? Considérez pourquoy ils ont appointé le Comte de Kent, avec sa dispute et ses propos de religion: n'ont ils pas maintenant descouvert leur intention? n'est-il pas

notoire, qu'ils ont tousiours craint que si je viuois, ils ne seroient iamais seurs de leur religion."—Jebb, II., 265.

² Those around Mary Stuart, and Mary herself, were persuaded that Nau had slandered his mistress.

I forgive him if he be willing to own his fault, and behave better in future." She bade all, especially those who bore the name of Nau, to do the same. Immediately afterwards, she parted her linen and silver-plate, gave letters of discharge to those who asked them, and then withdrew into her chamber. She wrote to her chaplain : " I have been challenged to-day in my religion, and attempts have been made to force me to receive the consolation of the heretics. You will hear from Bourgoin, and others will tell you, that at least I have faithfully stood firm by my faith, in which I will die. I asked that you might be allowed to be near me for my confession and sacrament ; I have been cruelly refused in that, and also about the disposal of my body. I am forbidden to bequeath freely, or to write anything except what shall pass through their hands, or be agreeable to their mistress. On account of that, I now confess in writing the greatness of my sins, as I had intended to do in the confessional, and I implore you, in the name of God, to pray for me, and watch over me this night ; to pray for my redemption through his blood, to send me absolution, and to forgive all hurt I have done you. I shall endeavour to see you in presence of them and the house steward, a favour they have granted me, and, if allowed, I shall, before all, on my bended knees, ask your blessing. Advise me of the most fitting prayers for this night, and for to-morrow morning."

Having settled as best she could the affairs of her conscience, she turned to those of her household, and wrote her will, appointing the Duke de Guise, chief executor. None of her servants, not even Nau, was forgotten. About to quit the earth, that tender-hearted Princess would not leave her servants in want. She was not rich, and the little she had she gave gladly ; but, after her death, what would become of her household ? In thinking of their future, she forgot herself, and no longer thought of the frightful morrow. Unable to do more, she wrote to the King of France this sad and last letter :—" This day, after dinner, my sentence was announced to me without further ceremony. I am to be executed as a criminal to-morrow at eight o'clock in the morning. I have not had leisure to give you full particulars of all that has taken place, but if it please you to believe my physician, and my other desolate servants, you shall hear the truth ; and that, thanks to God, I dread not death, and faithfully protest to meet it guiltless of all crime, though I should be their subject, which I never was ; my love for the Catholic religion, and the maintenance of the right which God gave me to that Crown, are the two points of my

condemnation. And yet they will not allow me to say that it is for religion that I die, but through fear of change of theirs, and as a proof, they have taken from me my chaplain, who, though he be in the house, has not been allowed to hear my confession, or give me communion before death; on the contrary, they have earnestly pressed me to receive the consolation and doctrine of their minister, brought for that purpose. The bearer, and those who accompany him, for the most part your subjects, will inform you of my behaviour in this, my last act. It remains for me to entreat you as a very Christian King, my brother-in-law, and former ally, you who have so often done me the honour to assure me of your love, that on this occasion you give me proofs on all those points, of your virtue; the one, for charity's sake, by aiding me, so as to discharge me and my conscience in that which I cannot do without you, namely, in rewarding my desolate servants, by giving them their wages; the other, by having God prayed for a Queen who has been named very Christian, who dies a Catholic, and deprived of all her goods. As for my son, I recommend him to you as much as he may deserve, for I cannot answer for him; for my servants, I entreat you fervently. I have made bold to send you two pebbles rare for health, for I wish your life may be long and happy; you will kindly receive them as from your very affectionate sister-in-law."

"Dying and bearing witness of my love for you, I shall in a note commend to you my servants; and I order that for my soul's sake it may please you to pay in part what you owe me, and I entreat you, for Jesus' sake, to whom I shall pray for you on the morning of my death, to give me wherewith to found an obit, and provide the necessary alms."¹

It was about two in the morning when she placed her will and letters, open, in a box, saying that she had now nothing else to do but pray to God and think of her soul. After that she had her feet washed. She then sought in the "Life of the Saints," a book which she read every evening along with her maids, for the life of some great guilty one whom God had pardoned. She stopped at the penitent thief: "He has been a great sinner," said she, with a humility which this haughty century will have difficulty in understanding,² "but not so great as I am; in memory of the Passion of our

¹ Mary Stuart to the Duke de Guise, 8th February 1587.—Jebb, II., 629.

² Many authors have erroneously taken those words for a confession of the crimes

with which Mary has been charged. It suffices to open any edition of the "Life of the Saints" to find words as strong uttered by personages whom all recognise as irreproachable.

Saviour, I pray that the Lord may remember me, and have mercy on me, as He remembered and had mercy on the poor thief at the hour of death."

Watching and anxiety had wearied her. Fearing she might look downcast, and seem bereft of strength at the supreme moment, she went to bed. She was soon asleep: her maids continued to pray beside her. That last night spent upon earth, betwixt the afflictions of a cruel parting and the terrors of a scaffold, was a most peaceful one. The Queen seemed already in possession of everlasting bliss. Though her eyes were closed, a slight movement of the lips showed that she still prayed. Her face, lighted up by heartfelt rapture, beamed with celestial fire; never was it seen more bright or heavenly.

Her first thought on awaking was of eternity: it was already six in the morning, and time was precious. "I have now but two hours to spend here below," said she to her maids. She wished to put on her richest costume for the last pomp of royalty, and chose, as a bandage for her eyes, on the scaffold, a handkerchief with a fringe of gold.¹ She then called her servants, read her will to them, gave among them what she had left, bade them farewell, embraced her women and allowed her servants to kiss her hand, with real kindness and grace, while showing not the least sadness. She again wrote to the King a few lines about her last wishes, and laid down her pen.

From that moment her thoughts never wandered from heaven. She retired into her oratory and read with great fervour the prayers of the dying. Her servants, around her, prayed, weeping floods of tears. A knock at the door broke in upon those prayers. "What is wanted of me?" asked the Queen. She was told that the lords awaited her Majesty. "It is not yet time," said she; "let them return at the hour appointed." Bourgoin took advantage of the pause to point out to the Queen that the names of Mesdemoiselles de Beauregard and de Maubrun were not in the will, and that her chaplain also had been forgotten. Mary wrote their names on the will, and went again to pray along with Elizabeth Curle and Jane Kennedy.

The fatal hour was drawing near. Mary, more earnest in her

¹ M. Dargaud, with the rare artistic talent which characterizes him, will have it that the handkerchief was "brodé de chardons d'or." No account gives that particular. That sent to Sixtus V., which I have already had occasion to quote, shows us, in the choice that Mary made of that linen, not a thought of

coquetry, but a rare Christian sentiment. "Si fece da una delle damigelle velare gl'occhi con uno di quei pannicelli sacri, che per servire a ricevere nel S^{to} Sacrificio della Missa il corpo del signore chiamamo corporale, et era finissimo et tutto altorno ricamato d'oro."—13 verso.

prayers and yearnings, beat her breast, asked pardon of God for her sins, offered Him the sacrifice of her life, and, opening a small ciborium, administered the Communion to herself.¹ It was a solemn sight! a sight worthy of the Angels, but one which the human eye was unworthy to behold! Mary stood for a long time, her thoughts rivetted on God. When she rose, her face beamed with great grandeur and serenity. The victim was ready for the sacrifice. While waiting for the executioners, Mary approached the fire, for it was cold. "I think, my friends," said she to her maids, "that I must eat something, that I may do nothing unworthy of me, and that my heart do not fail me." Her physician advised her to take a little bread and wine which he had prepared for her; she willingly partook of a little of it, from her heart thanked him, and, after a few minutes, eight o'clock struck. Mary again said to her maids that she wished no other glory after death than that they should tell, in France, of her firmness. "I know," added she, with sadness, "that to see me end my life on the scaffold so tragically must be for you a heart-rending sight; but I am anxious you should be witnesses of my death, so that you may faithfully speak of it when I am no more."

As she finished, there was another knock at the door. Her women, aware that the knell of death had tolled, shrank from opening the door: Mary noticed it. "My friends," said she to them, "it is of no use: open." The door having been opened, Andrews, the Sheriff of Northampton, entered; he was clad in mourning, and held in his hand a white rod. "Madam," said he to Mary, "the lords have sent me to you." "Well, I am ready," replied the Queen, rising. Bourgoin then handed to Mary her small ivory crucifix; the Queen thanked him, kissed the crucifix, and had it carried before her while she, supported by Bourgoin, proceeded towards the door.

A sad delicacy, however, vexed the poor physician: he mentioned it to the Queen. "Madam," said he to her, "your Majesty is aware of our affection and good-will, and we are still, even now, ready to do anything for you, but it wrings our hearts to lead you whither you go, and to hand you over to your enemies; pray excuse us. As for accompanying you, we shall do so willingly, and assist you till your last breath. How happy should we be if we could share your fate." "You are right," answered Mary, who, then, addressing the Sheriff, said, "My servants do not wish to lead me to death: I can scarcely walk; have me helped

¹ Proofs, II.

a little." Andrews called some soldiers whom Paulet had sent to drag the Queen to the scaffold, if she resisted, and ordered them to help the prisoner; her servants followed, weeping bitterly.

On reaching the staircase, the procession stopped, and guards drove back the Queen's servants. It was a heart-rending scene. The servants uttered plaintive cries, and clung fondly to the hands and garments of their mistress, bade her farewell, entreated her not to leave them, wished to die with her, and offered in her behalf those useless requests which grief calls forth when the insatiable maw of the tomb is open. Strength and threats overpowered their resistance; they were driven back into the Queen's apartments, and there shut in.

In the midst of that scene of desolation, Mary gave proofs of great firmness; she not only found strength in her heart to master her grief, but also was able to speak words of consolation and encouragement to her servants. Then, with crucifix in one hand and prayer-book and handkerchief in the other, she went forward anew.

At the foot of the stair, she met her purveyor, Andrew Melville, whom she had not seen for three weeks: he came to bid her a last farewell. On seeing his much-loved Queen led to death, his heart failed him; deeply moved and vainly trying to stifle his grief, he rushed towards her. "Ah! Madam," exclaimed he, "ah! how wretched am I! Had ever man to carry a more painful message than that with which I am charged? Must I then return to my country only to tell the world that my good mistress, my Sovereign, is no more, and that I have seen her fall by the axe of the executioner?" With those words he sank and fell on his knees, choked by grief. Mary almost gave way to her keen emotion. "My good servant," said she to him, "cease to lament. Thou hast more reason to rejoice than to grieve, since thou seest the end of Mary Stuart's afflictions drawing nigh. Oh! my good servant, learn that all here below is but vanity, that all is poisoned with bitterness, and that this earth is but a vast ocean of sorrows and tears. But, I pray thee, tell this about me, that I die true to my religion, to Scotland and to France. Let God pardon those who have so long wished for my death and thirsted for my blood as the hart panteth after the water brooks. Oh! God," added she, "Thou who art the Author of all truth and Truth itself, Thou knowest the innermost recesses of my heart, and that I have never wished but the union of Scotland and England. Melville," said she again, "remember me to my son; tell him that I have never done anything hurtful to the King-

dom of Scotland, and that with my last breath I bless him.¹ Adieu, my dear Melville." At those words, she leant over towards her servant, and kissed him, her face bathed in tears. "Adieu," added she, "adieu, for the last time; in thy prayers remember thy mistress, thy Queen."

She then asked the Earls to care for her servants, and allow them to go in safety to their native land; that was promised readily enough. She also asked leave for her women to go with her to the place of execution. The Earl of Kent turned a deaf ear to that request, because he dreaded lest the boldest men, should, through fanaticism, wish to dip their handkerchiefs in her blood, and lest the women, by their cries and sobs, should stay the execution. "My Lord," said Mary, "I give you my word that they shall not vex you in that way. Alas! poor friends, it would be soothing to their bleeding hearts to bid their mistress a last adieu. I am sure, Earl of Kent, that your mistress, who is a virgin Queen, would not hinder some of my women to be by me at the hour of death. Her Majesty has not, I know, given you such strict orders, and she would grant that favour to any woman of lower rank than is the Queen of Scots."

The Earl of Kent, hardened by religious hatred, was inexorable. So much obstinacy was revolting to Mary Stuart. "Know, Earl," said she to him, "that I am the cousin of your Queen, sprung like her from the blood of Henry VII., that I am the widow of a King of France, and also lawful Queen of Scots." Her firmness prevailed over the obstinacy of the lords; they feared lest a flat refusal might make them odious. They consulted together, and allowed Mary to have four of her servants and two of her maids of honour. When they were singled out, she herself gave the Sheriff the order to proceed, and they entered the low chamber of the Castle. There was the scaffold, about two feet and a-half high, and twelve wide. It was draped with black English frieze; so were the seat, cushion and block, where the hapless Queen was to sit, kneel and die. The rest of the room, where stood numerous onlookers, was likewise draped with black.

Mary advanced with sorrowful majesty, betraying neither the effrontery of an unsteady courage nor the faltering of fear. At the sight of her, a death-like silence fell upon those assembled; every heart bled for that woman, so beautiful, so brilliant, and so learned, about to die, in her prime, in so tragic a manner, and those who thought her guilty could

¹ "Ed in questo dire alzata la mano col segno della croce lo benedine."—Annali di Sisto V., la morte di Maria, MS., 9 verso.

not but shed a tear at the sight of her misfortune. For some time, nothing was heard but the steps of the grim cortege. Mary was the first to break silence. "Sir Amyas," said she to Paulet, "help me to get up; it is the last office which I shall receive from you,"¹ and having rested on his arm, she firmly ascended the steps of the scaffold.

She at once sat down upon the seat intended for her, having, on her right, the two Earls, seated, on her left, the Clerk of Council and the Sheriff, in front, the headsman and his assistant, dressed in black velvet, and, a little way off, near the wall, her four servants and her two maids of honour; the latter knelt the whole time. Mary looked upon all those mournful preparations without emotion; so strange was the calm cheerfulness which rested on her face while going to death, that it called forth the wonder of the gentlemen, and the deep silence gave way to a hum of admiration.

When silence was restored, the Clerk of Council read the sentence. Mary listened with a calmness so wonderful, that the Earl of Shrewsbury, bewildered and unable to understand, thought it his duty to remind her that she was listening to the sentence which condemned herself. That peace of mind was not weakness; the Queen's attitude, and her animated and smiling face, proved it. "My Lords," said Mary, "I was born a Queen, a Sovereign Princess subject to no laws, a near kinswoman of your Queen, and lawful heiress to the throne of England. Kept a prisoner for a long time, though innocent, I have suffered much; yet no one had a right over me. Now, by the strength of men, and under their power, about to end my days, I thank God for allowing me to die for my religion, and before those who will bear witness that I lay my head on the block a Catholic. I protest, as I have always done, in private and in public, that I have never attempted aught, either against the State or the life of your Queen; I have ever loved her and the country also. I have offered more than reasonable conditions to pacify all, and you know it, My Lords. At length, my enemies have succeeded in their design; I am about to die, yet I forgive them from my heart, as I wish them all to forgive me. At a later time, both my innocence and the black schemes of those who have run me down, shall be made known."

Then Dr Fletcher, the Dean of Peterborough, tried to convert the Catholic martyr. He told her that the Queen of England took a great

¹ Several authors pretend that those words were addressed to Melville, but others in greater number, and accounts of the period, maintain that they were said to Paulet. I have adopted the latter opinion.

interest in her salvation, and that, while preparing the just punishment for her crimes, means were given her to save her soul from everlasting death; that she was on the brink of eternity, and that she could escape the fires of hell, only by repenting of her sins; that she ought to acknowledge, by a sincere confession, the justness of the sentence and the kindness of Queen Elizabeth; that she must cast aside the inventions and subtleties of men, and abide by the pure Gospel, if she did not wish to be cast at once into outer darkness, where there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth; that the angel of death was hovering over her head, and that the axe was already laid to the root of the tree. After that purely gratuitous impertinence, he showed her the Sovereign Judge seated upon His throne, with open book, and the sentence about to be passed: one of greatest moment, a sentence of everlasting happiness or everlasting damnation—justice and vengeance together, preparing a furnace of unquenchable fire, which could be shunned only by clinging to Christ, to be immortalised and glorified by Him.

Mary interrupted that speech three or four times, still the undaunted Dean went on with his harangue. "Mr Dean," said she to him at last, "busy yourself no further for me; I am a Catholic, and, God be thanked, I am going to give my blood for my religion." As he insisted further on the necessity of changing her opinion and forsaking the old follies of the Church of Rome, "My good Dean," said the Queen to him, with pity, "calm yourself, I pray, for I was born a Catholic, have lived a Catholic, and will die a Catholic." The Dean wished to continue;¹ but the lords objected. "Madam," said they, "we are going to pray, along with the Dean, for your Grace, that God may enlighten your heart, and that you may die in the knowledge of His law." "My Lords," answered Mary, "I cannot thank you too much for wishing to pray for me; it is a favour you would do me; but I cannot join in your prayers, for your religion is not mine."

While the Earls prayed with the Dean,² the royal captive recited psalms of penitence befitting her approaching end. In the ecstasy of her love, she took the little crucifix, raised it to her lips, and endearingly

¹ That very edifying preacher led, at a later period, in the episcopacy, a less celestial life than his words seemed to indicate. Some songs, which public malignity welcomed, were current about him. The poor man died in the pulpit, of an attack of apoplexy. No one seems to have been astonished at it; his address to the Queen of Scots already an-

nounced a predisposition to that disease.—Cf. Goodman, I., 134, and note.

² That admirable man prayed "un poco per l'anima di Maria di Scozia e longamente per la Salute d'Isabella (Elizabeth) Regina d'Inghilterra, et per la prosperita del Regno di lei."—Manuscript Papers of Sixtus V., 11, verso.

pressed it to her heart. The Earl of Kent was shocked ; "Madam, it avails you little," said he, "to have that image of Christ in your hand, if you have Him not graven in your heart." "It were not easy," replied Mary, "to have His image in one's hand without the heart being touched thereby, and nothing is more suitable for a Christian who is about to die than the image of our Redeemer ; moreover," added she, raising her crucifix, "this image announces my faith to those who do not hear my words." She prayed in English for the Pope, the Church, the Catholic Monarchs and Princes, for her enemies, for the Queen of England, and for her son the King, earnestly entreating God to give to the world, peace, and to her, His Holy Paradise. All around were moved ; the Queen's friends were bowed down under the weight of their grief ; one of the maids of honour rushed towards her mistress, uttering a most heart-rending cry. "Do not forget," said Mary to her, "that I have pledged my word for you," and she put her finger to her lips to impose silence. "Lord Jesus," said she again, "as Thou wert nailed to the Cross for the salvation of the world, receive me into the arms of Thy Mercy, and forgive me my sins."

The time to die was come. The Earls asked Mary if she had any secret to reveal about the Babington Conspiracy. "I have publicly asserted that I knew nothing," replied Mary, "it is needless to ask me further at this hour." The headsman then approached to help her to undress. "Leave me," said Mary to him, "I am not used to such servants." She ordered her two maids to do that last service. "I loathe," said she to them with a sad smile, "to undress before every one." The two unhappy maids set to work weeping ; Mary tried to console them : "What," said she, "you give way to despair ! rejoice rather with me since I am about to leave this world for so good a cause." She threw off her veil, laid down her mantle, and kept on only a skirt of crimson velvet.¹ Mary wore on her neck a small gold cross ; she wished to give it to one of her maids as a token of her everlasting affection, but the executioner objected, claiming it as his property. "My good friend," said the Queen to him, "you shall be paid

¹ "Auoit en premier lieu vn voile de crespé blanc, l'en courant depuis la teste, et trainant par terre, sa coiffure de mesme estofe, qu'elle auoit accoustumé porter quand elle se mettoit en meilleur point, les festes plus solennelles, ou venant deuant des estrangers, vn grand manteau de satin noir gofré, parement de martre sublime, (zibeline) doublé de tafetas

noir, les manches pendantes, à longue queue, et le colet à l'Italienne, vn pourpoint de satin noir, vne iuppe de velours cramoisy brun, vne vasquine de tafetas velouté, caleçons de futaine blanche, des bas de soye bleue, iaretiers de soye, et des escarpins de marroquin." *La Mort de la Royne d'Escosse.*—Jebb, II., 640.

much more than it is worth." The executioner would not yield his right, and Mary did not insist. She then sat down on the seat, gave her blessing to the servants who were melted to tears, and begged them to think of her in presence of God, then, having forgiven the headsman, she had her eyes bandaged, kissed her maids a last time, and resigned herself to the executioner. One surprise yet awaited her; the unfortunate Princess had imagined that she should be struck standing, as was then done in France; the executioner told her of her mistake, and desired her to lay her head upon the block. Mary yielded and bent over it; the executioner told her also that she must not keep her hands under her face, because that would hinder the execution, and the Queen withdrew them. "Lord," said Mary, "I have placed my hope in you, and shall not be confounded for ever: deliver me in your justice. Lend an ear to my prayer and hasten to assist me. Let me find in you, O my God, a protector and a place of refuge where I may be safe; for You are my strength and my shelter, and on account of Your name You shall be my guide and my support. Take me out of the snare which they have hidden from me; for You are my Protector. Oh God! I place my soul in Your hands: You have redeemed it, God of truth."

The executioner, his axe uplifted, hesitated to strike, and amid the most profound silence, the heroic Princess was heard to repeat several times those sadly significant words: "Lord, I place my soul in Your hands." At last, the headsman struck a heavy blow; but the stroke, dealt by an unsteady hand, hit the Queen on the head and drove the hair into the nape of her neck. Confused and furious, the headsman struck anew with so much violence that the axe stood fixed in the block. Mary Stuart was no more. The executioner picked up the hallowed head of the poor Queen; in his hurry to show it to the people, the head slipped from his hands and fell on the platform.¹ "God save

¹ That accident affords one of Queen Mary's enemies an opportunity of making this very tasteful reflection: "At once a metamorphosis was witnessed, strange as was ever wrought by wand of fabled enchanter. The coif fell off and the false plaits: the laboured illusion vanished. The lady who had knelt before the block was in the maturity of grace and loveliness. The executioner, when he raised the head as usual, to show it to the crowd, exposed the withered features of a grizzled, wrinkled old woman."—Froude, *History of England*, XII. So speaks a historian whom England admires as a writer of the greatest

taste. I leave to that eminent personage the benefit of his description; he has so much the more merit as the basis and form belong to him entirely. Contemporaries use a very different language. Blackwood writes: "Le bourreau la decoiffa par manière de mespris et de dérision, afin de monstrier ses cheveux desia blâcs, et le sômet de sa teste nouvellement tôdu. Ce qu'elle estoit cōtraincte de faire biê souuët à cause d'un reume auquel elle estoit subiette," 702. An eye-witness writes: "La teste estoit nue de cheveux devant et derrière, et razée exprès pour y appliquer quelque cataplasme, et en chaque costé petits cheveux gris,

Queen Elizabeth," cried the executioner. "Thus perish all her enemies," added the Dean of Peterborough. "Amen," gloomily added the fierce Earl of Kent.¹ Frightful moment, which, after the lapse of three centuries, still makes the sympathetic heart throb wildly!

Choking sobs were heard; the servants and maids of the Queen uttered piercing cries, the gentlemen shed tears over that awful death scene, and the most hardened, moved in spite of their efforts, went away sad. The Catholics saw in that execution a true martyrdom, the Protestants an expiation; while the mass of the lukewarm began to wonder, after so tragic an end, if there was still a Providence in heaven.

"So long as truth, virtue and man shall dwell upon earth, that sore shall bleed; so long as there shall be eyes and tears in this world of wretchedness and misery, tears shall bedew those royal ashes, and the piety of the living shall never weary of strewing handfuls of lilies, pinks and roses on her grave."²

"It is true that on the xxix January, which was a Sunday, eight days before her execution, between twelve and one o'clock at night, there suddenly appeared in the firmament a large flame of bright fire over the window of the Queen's chamber, which gave much light, and returned three times, though visible in no other part of the castle. That light was so clear, that by its aid one easily could read and write; it caused much astonishment, and frightened the guards appointed to watch under that window, as they have certified."³

mais non pas beaucoup."—Teulet, Supp. au Prince Labanoff, 349. And in an account written under the dictation of Bourgoïn, the Queen's physician, who probably knew as well as Mr Froude how the thing took place, one reads: "La teste séparée, il la print par la coiffure qui luy eschappa, où apparut sa teste blanche et sans cheveux, qu'elle faisoit oster souvent pour le mal de teste qu'elle auoit."—Jebb, II., 641. Mr Froude would, no doubt, have preferred Mary Stuart to present herself to the executioner without any hair whatever; it is a singular idea against which I am powerless. It is well known, that when the Earl of Shrewsbury asked to see Mary, she was in bed. Had the hatred of the ministers been

less violent, they might have awaited the victim's recovery.

¹ "Le vray rapport de l'exécution de la Royne d'Escosse."—Teulet, IV., 154 sq. *Annali di Sisto V., la Morte di Maria.*—Archives Secrètes du Capitol. A true report of the death of that rare and princely martyr, Mary Stuart.—State Paper Office. The manner of the execution.—Ellis, II., iii., 113 sq. *La Mort de la Royne d'Escosse.*—Jebb, Blackwood, Conn, Camden, Spottiswoode, Sander-son, Caussin, &c.—Proofs, III.

² Caussin, Jebb, II., 101.

³ Le vray rapport de l'exécution, &c.—Teulet, IV., 163.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1587—1603.

LAST DUTIES PAID TO MARY'S BODY—HER BURIAL—PUBLIC REJOICINGS—ELIZABETH'S DISSIMULATION—SHE PUNISHES DAVISON—SHE ENDEAVOURS TO MISLEAD PUBLIC OPINION—INTERVIEW WITH THE AMBASSADOR OF FRANCE—GREAT ANXIETY IN PARIS—ATTITUDE OF JAMES VI.—SCOTTISH INVASION—GRIEF OF PHILIP II.—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA—DISASTER—PERSECUTION OF THE CATHOLICS—DEATH OF ELIZABETH.

AT the thought of the frightful tortures of Queen Mary, tears must flow ; and did not the calmness of her resignation comfort us a little in the midst of so great a disaster, we should remain for ever buried in despair. The sight of innocence, suffering and dragged to a scaffold is so galling in itself that the feelings of a man of honour are outraged by it. So great a crime irritates and equally grieves him ; he wonders at events, and whether chance governs us, or if there is no longer any justice in this world. God sometimes allows that disorder to let men feel how little they are, and woe to him who does not see His hand ever outstretched in those hours of darkness and confusion. No one has a reason to complain : Mary has suffered, it is but too true ; she has been a martyr from the cradle to the grave ; the frail sport of human passions, she has been broken by their violence ; the most beautiful of women has also been the most unfortunate ; time has passed away, dragging along with it adversity and prosperity, and the misfortunes of the luckless Queen have had their end ; God kept for Himself to crown the martyr ; but the awful tragedy was still to go on after the death of the heroine. She was unhappy ; all her friends, too, were unhappy ; whoever tried to support her, fell with her. Till then, there were only isolated efforts ; the most powerful monarch in the world is now about to take in hand her defence, and his numberless vessels are to go down amid the waves. Elizabeth shall rejoice, insult her enemies, forget her crime, and even forget that she is mortal, till, in her turn, touched by the hand of God, to whose justice she has been blind, she sinks, falls and expiates in horrible throes the crimes of her life ;

the foresight of her ministers, the learning of her bishops, even her own firmness, being unable to give her an hour of hope or peace. The Queen of Scots dies smiling upon a scaffold ; her rival, nursed in the lap of luxury and with no want, shall die cursing heaven and earth, rage in her heart, remorse in her soul, and with a past which torments her with its visions, a present which is soon to end, and a future before which she bows her head in dull silence : the arm of God shall have revealed itself. That is what is yet to be told.

Mary's body was left beside the block ; till they came to a decision as to its disposal, it was covered with an old green cloth, torn from a billiard table ; the Queen's crucifix, her garments, rosary and everything stained with her blood were burned. The body was then carried into a room next that of the servants. Violent means had to be used ere Mary's little dog, which had lain down on the breast of her mistress after the execution, could be got away. The body was embalmed the next day with little enough respect and put into a leaden coffin. It was left six months in that position, and it was not till the end of July that it could be protected by the grave against the hatred of the living. The funeral service was performed with great pomp in the Cathedral of Peterborough, where her remains were buried.

The execution over, Sir Henry Talbot, son of the Earl of Shrewsbury, was sent in hot haste to tell Elizabeth what had taken place, and how matters had gone off. He reached Greenwich at about nine in the morning. The news spread at once with the swiftness of lightning ; the bells were rung. London took a holiday, and in the evening, as on days of great rejoicing, bonfires lighted up the city. The example of the capital was followed by the neighbouring towns : there were banquets and feasts everywhere, and fanatic England, carried away by a ferocious joy, insulted, by its clamours, the friends of the unhappy Queen of Scots.¹ The popular frenzy knew no bounds ; people went even to the ambassador of France for wood to feed the fires lit up in his street.² Nay more, and this time, I wish, for the honour of the human race, that this particular had not been handed down to us. Elizabeth went for her usual ride, and on her return, gave audience to the King of Portugal, without betraying in word or look, the least sadness.³

¹ La Morte di Maria.—Papiers MS. de Sixte V., 19. Discours sur la Mort de Madame Marie Stouard, 8. Paris, Bichon, 1588.

² Mendoça to Philip II., 7th March.—Teulet, Supp. au Prince Labanoff, 378.

³ Châteauneuf to the King, 27th February.—Teulet, IV., 172.

Rejoicing, however, was in vain, for that noisy mirth was poisoned by a terrible anxiety. What would France think? What would Europe think of such a cruelty, of such a crime? Fear trod out the bonfires.

The better to blind the monarchs of Europe before they could be informed by their ambassadors, an embargo was put upon the ships; the ports were closed, the despatches seized and opened,¹ and Lord Stafford solemnly told the ambassador of Spain, in Paris, that the misfortune had happened against the will of his Sovereign, by the doing of Davison, "a most terrible heretic and particular enemy to the Queen of Scots."²

That comedy was merely a shadow of that which was being performed in England. When Elizabeth learned that her good sister, the Queen of Scots, was dead, she got fiercely indignant, turned out her ministers, had Davison locked up, outdid grief itself, and affected unwonted sorrow. Her sorrow was often shown by outbursts of powerful wrath; her ladies and officers, grieved as much as she was, improved further upon her mourning. Her ministers were obliged to come and ask pardon, to regain her good graces; one only could not come. That was Davison, perhaps the least guilty. Thrown into the Tower for having obeyed too well, he was pining away there, awaiting his trial in anguish. Despite the efforts made by the Earl of Essex³ to save him, he was condemned in the Star Chamber to an excessive fine, and to be kept in prison during the Queen's pleasure.⁴ But from the depths of his cell, the secretary wrote his apology, and gave to the world what Elizabeth wished to keep secret, so that the shrewd Queen had, by her hateful intrigue, only another blot cast upon her name.

In the audience she granted to the envoy of Henry III., she, "affecting great annoyance, and almost with a tearful eye," said to him that she was much grieved at the death of Mary Stuart, who had been put to death against her will, that Davison who had deceived her, was in safe custody, and should answer for it; she begged him to express

¹ Various Papers.—Teulet, IV., 170, 172, 185; V., 484.

² Mendoça to Philip II., 20th February.—Teulet, V., 469.

³ Cabala, 229 sq. *Lives and Letters of the Earls of Essex*, I., 183 sq.

⁴ As an excuse for Davison's punishment was required, and as it could no longer be maintained that Elizabeth had not given the order to put the Queen of Scots to death, equivocation was used, and it was said that

the Secretary was in the Tower, "for not proceeding with the Queen of Scottes, according to his mistresses commaundement, at the deliverie of the warrant, which was not to put yt in execution before the Realme should be actually invaded by some foron power."—Ellis, II., iii., 126; Von Raumer, *Briefe aus Paris*, II., 164. It is worthy of note that Puckering and Egerton, who condemned Davison, were successively appointed lords-keepers.—Goodman, I., 133. Was that mere chance?

her heart-felt regret to the King of France.¹ Trampling under foot all modesty, she, fearing no denial, did not cease to play her part as long as Mary Stuart was in question. The first audience she gave the French ambassador, may be looked upon as a masterpiece of shamelessness. She made Châteauneuf enter the Council Chamber, and taking him by the arm: "here," said she, smiling, "is the man who wanted to have me killed." She hurriedly added that she had always believed that to be the invention of two knaves, who thereby sought to obtain money. She expressed her regret for having had Destrappes put into prison for so trifling a matter, and at once set him free. I have inquired about him, said she, and have found out that he is a lawyer, anxious to plead at the bar of Paris. I am sorry I have caused him injury, for he will owe me a grudge all his life, but you may tell him that I hope I never shall have to plead a case with him in Paris, where he may try to take his revenge for the wrong I have done him.²

Then taking the ambassador aside, she said to him, that in the death of her cousin-german, the greatest misfortune and vexation of her life had befallen her, and swore to God, with many oaths, that she was innocent . . . that those of her Council, four of whom were present, but whom she did not name, had played her a trick which she could not forget; and swore to God, that but for their long services, and the fact that they had done what they did, only for the good and safety of her person, she should have had their heads off. "She begged me," adds the ambassador, "to believe that she is not so wicked as to wish to throw the blame on a little secretary, had it not been that that death doomed her to grieve for ever."³

The news of Mary Stuart's execution was the cause of great sadness throughout France. The truth of so strange a deed was for a long time doubted; but when at length it was proved that the Queen of Scots had really been beheaded, there was an outburst of sorrow. France was troubled, and a long murmur, broken by sobs, rose from every breast. Bellièvre, who had supported Mary Stuart's cause in England, broke out into threats, and Brûlart, the Secretary of State, swore never again to appear in Council, if the King did not take revenge for so heinous a crime. The pulpit resounded with panegyrics of the Catholic Martyr. At Saint Eustache, the emotion reached such a pitch among the hearers, that the voice of the preacher was drowned in the

¹ Châteauneuf to the King, 27th February.—
Teulet, IV., 175.

² Châteauneuf to the King, 13th May.—
Teulet, IV., 196.

³ The same to the same.—Idem, *ibidem*, 197.

sobs, and that he himself, overpowered by his sad subject, broke down in his sermon, and, weeping, left the pulpit.¹ The Court, led away by public opinion, went into mourning. A solemn service was performed at Notre Dame (12th March), before an immense throng. The various bodies of the State were dressed in black. The remembrance of that kind Queen, the marvel of the world, as she was called,² had retained all its power and all its freshness; many, for the love of her, would have wished to share her prison and her death. But already, she was, as it were, idealized, and the people, constant in their affection, looked upon her as their martyred Queen and mother.

It seemed very likely that the French Cabinet would break off its relations with England; for the nobles were agreed with the people, that the outrage was revolting. The encouragement poured forth from the pulpits in Paris and in the Provinces, everywhere produced a like effect; the people gathered together in mobs, and secretly murmured against the listlessness of the Court. The time was well fitted for Henry III. to pick a quarrel with England. In all likelihood, an external war would have at least interrupted the unfortunate civil war which was again to cost France so much precious blood. The King was favourable; Scotland was making active preparations; the Guises would have supported it with energy; and the League, instead of wasting the capital, would have turned its feverish activity to better use elsewhere, but, for that, a head must be found, and the feeble Henry III., overwhelmed by the weight of the Crown, acted only when led by the Queen-mother. She, dreading victory, because it might rouse the pride of the Leaguers, and defeat, because of the dishonour which might come to the throne, thought to do a skilful stroke of policy by dallying. No one even dared to find fault with the barbarous action of Elizabeth, and Châteauneuf had to resume his negotiations. Matters got on the worse for it; the League became more furious; anarchy was within; royalty was sinking; and while it was degrading itself in Paris, the King of Navarre, Elizabeth's ally, gave it the deathblow at Coutras. When we think of those disasters, we are amazed to hear people say that Henry III. was most clever on that occasion. It is very evident, on the contrary, that by launching against England all those wild passions, by uniting the factions for one common end, dear to all, the dangerous element would have been thrown aside, and concord would, of necessity, again have been established. Even a disaster at such a time would have been a signal

¹ Mendoça to Philip II., 6th March.—
Teulet, V., 483.

² Panegyric of Mary Stuart.—Jebb, II.,
686.

blessing, for then, both parties must have joined to help each other.¹ Catherine de Médicis went wrong throughout ; she forgot the Queen of Scots, whom she ought to have helped, and allowed to ferment in France the passions which she ought to have directed.

Scotland showed herself more worthy, and if the sluggishness of France had not made her unfit to undertake anything, Elizabeth would likely have experienced great difficulties. Even before Mary's death, the Scots were preparing to avenge her, and the Hamiltons offered their Sovereign a small army of five thousand men, raised at their own expense.² The fatal news was scarcely known, when the Border Scots, without waiting for the King's order, rushed into England, and began to ravage it. A great agitation told the country that something great had just taken place, and those who were not yet aware of Mary's tragic end, wondered what it could be. The Earl of Morton was in the open field before James VI. learned what had happened to his mother. When he was told of it, he felt a keen sorrow ; his mourning was deep and sincere ; he shed many a tear, and swore that if ever an English ambassador had the boldness to cross the Border, he would have him hanged on the spot. In the evening he took no food, and, the next day, set out before daylight for Dalkeith, fleeing his palace and his Court. When he heard that Morton, at the head of a small army, had entered England, he was sorry he had not forestalled him.³

All Scotland shared the King's indignation ; the national spirit felt degraded, and the cruel action was looked upon as an affront to the whole nation.⁴ In a moment all was kindled ; the ravagers, ruled by fury and the hope of gain, became more numerous, and, taking a wider aim, tried to kindle war and revolt in Ireland. Gray was overthrown and banished ;⁵ the partizans of Catholicism and of Spain were recalled : a general war was to be feared.

It was in the midst of that burst of fury that Robert Carey, Elizabeth's envoy, was charged to take to King James VI. the wailings of his mistress. James refused him entrance into Scotland, and warned him

¹ The author had written those lines without thinking of supporting them with any authority whatever, because the historians whom he consulted are of a different opinion. He has been agreeably surprised to find, in looking over the quotations, that Walsingham dreaded exactly that agreement of all parties.—Spottiswoode, II., 368.

² Anonymous Letter, supposed to have been

written by Ogilvy to Lord Burghley, no date, (February 1587).—State Paper Office.

³ Moyse's Memoirs, 118.—Teulet, V, 491.

⁴ "The King cannot stave the Rigor of his peouple."—Ellis, II., iii., 119. Courcelles Despatches, 77.

⁵ Pitcairn, II., 157 ; Gray's Papers, 148-149, Courcelles Despatches, 46, 65, 70.

that if he set a foot on Scottish soil, it would be impossible to save him from the fury of the people. Robert Carey stopped at Berwick, whither R. Melville and the Laird of Cowdenknowes came to learn his message.¹ "My deare Brother," said Elizabeth, "I would you knewe (though not felt) the extreme dolor that overwhelms my mind, for that miserable accident which (far contrary to my meaninge) hath befallen. I have now sent this kinsman of mine, whom ere now yt hath pleased yow to favor, to instruct you trewly of that which ys to yerksom for my penne to tell yow. I beseche yow that, as God and many moe knowe, how innocent I am in this case; so yow will believe me, that yf I had bid ought I owld have bid by yt."² She assured him, in concluding, that no one was more attached to him than she, and begged him to be on his guard against those who might tell him the contrary.

It is not known how James VI. received Elizabeth's letter, but one may be allowed to believe that he did not alter his mind, for the agitation increased in Scotland, and ravaging went on in England. In that perilous crisis, Walsingham thought of gaining over the Privy Council, the more easily to secure the King. He wrote to Lord Thirlstane, principal Councillor, a long letter, in which he pointed out, one by one, the misfortunes which a war with England would bring upon Scotland; that there were no grounds for it, being undertaken to take revenge for an act of justice brought about by necessity, and that it was impossible to keep it up without the aid of foreign Princes; that help being more to be dreaded than wished for, doubtful as it was from France, threatening from Spain, and, moreover, very doubtful, as Elizabeth, by her naval forces, and her alliance with the Dutch, would more than likely prevent its reaching its destination. He added that all support sought from without would make the Prince odious to the English, and would close for him access to the English throne; that the nobles would oppose the accession of a Prince so revengeful, and that violent counsels must not be heeded, but that it ought to be borne in mind that the crowning honour of a Prince embraces prudence, moderation and equity, and follows not the dictates of a blind passion, nor sacrifices personal interest to revenge.³

The councillors did not fail after that to remonstrate with the King, and Chancellor Maitland, the pillar of the faction, was not among the most

¹ Moyse's Memoirs, 118; Courcelles Despatches, 42, 50, 51.

² Queen Elizabeth to King James VI.—Ellis, I., iii., 23.

³ Spottiswoode, II., 365 sq. The letter published by Teulet, IV., 471, is simply a wretched translation.

backward ; but the King kept to his own resolve and would not yield. He gave Elizabeth to know that if she was innocent, which required to be proved, she must punish the guilty ; that, he insisted on at any cost, and, if needs were, he placed his forces at her disposal.¹ That determination to punish amazed Elizabeth. She wrote to Carey that she would send no reply ; that she was innocent ; and that, should the King again mention the matter, he was to be told that she knew nothing of it. Carey was to put forward the finding of the Parliament, the wish of the country, the mourning of the Queen, and her conduct towards her councillors, and especially towards Davison, as so many proofs establishing the innocence of his mistress.²

During those debates ruin was spreading in England. Cessford, Fernyhirst, Bothwell and Angus offered to put everything to fire and sword as far as Newcastle. Frightened by their number and by their boldness, the Governor of the Marches, Sir Cuthbert Colingwood, almost in despair, wrote a letter to Walsingham. "The country," said he, "is reduced to a desert, wasted with fire and sword, and filled with lamentation and dismay."³ The ministers were in no hurry to send him assistance ; and, sometime after, he was attacked in the Castle of Eslington, lost seventeen men, left his son a prisoner, and owed his safety only to the fleetness of his horse. At any other time the haughty Elizabeth could not have found words strong enough for her anger ; here, there was not a bitter word against the King of Scotland ; and despite the hard struggle in which her subjects were worsted, she showed the young King only "caresses and attentions."⁴ God alone knows how much more damage might have been done, if King James himself had not stopped the plunderers.

By degrees their anger cooled, their resentment became less bloodthirsty, and James cut short the baneful war, and tried to be on good terms with the Court of England, so as to get himself, with ease, seated on the throne of Great Britain.⁵

Spain had yet to be disarmed, and then there might be hope that fear would vanish and fury would be lessened. For a moment, Elizabeth thought she was going to gain her ends, when she saw Philip II. take her as mediatrix between him and the revolted Provinces of the Low Countries ; but that was done only through policy, and with the object of gaining time. Philip II., though more reserved in his official

¹ Moyse's Memoirs, 119.

² Lord Burghley to R. Carey, 3d April.—
State Paper Office.

³ Tytler's History, IV., 161.

⁴ Châteauneuf to the King, 21st May.—
Biblioth. Impér. Fonds de Bethune, 8880, 23.

⁵ Proofs, IV.

language than Elizabeth, did not fall short of her as a politician. Crafty and cunning, as well as hard-working, foreseeing and suspecting, quick in his conceptions, slow and, so to say, almost sluggish in execution, he hid, under that wonted haughty apathy, a soul of fire. The passions which troubled his heart and wakened up his vast intelligence had not the power to move his countenance. Outwardly he was calm, proud, and even stiff and stilted. He felt that he was all-powerful, yet was a prey to the restlessness of a man who mistrusts his own strength—qualities and faults which gained for him the surname of "Demon of the South."

The sad end of Mary Stuart grieved him wondrously ; and, as a Catholic King, he resolved to avenge the Catholic martyr. The tragic event awoke in him all the old hatred which time had not been able to smother. He persuaded himself that his honour, as much as his faith, demanded an expedition against England, and he eagerly prepared for it. In vain did his colonies ask for help, and in vain did Drake go and attack him on Spanish soil itself, he nevertheless went on with his preparations, and did not allow his attention to be taken off or his purpose bent. He alone covered all the cost of equipment, made sure of the help of the Pope and of the Guises, and proceeded boldly with the work he had set himself. Negotiations with England were still pending when his well-manned ships had put to sea.

The ocean had not yet borne a fleet of such great importance. There were thirty-five ships of various sizes : some of them, shaped like movable fortifications, bristling with cannons, were of a size huge for the period. Eight thousand sailors, twenty thousand land forces, provisions for six months and munitions of war in abundance, formed the equipment of men and the stores of the fleet. A Vicar-General of the Holy Office and about a hundred monks, intended to convert the Island, went along with the expedition.

The mighty fleet was to be reinforced by a great number of the troops of Flanders. From Spain, Italy and Germany, adventurous bands poured in, anxious to take part in the expedition. As a man consummate in the art of war, General Parnese organised, at the very first, the defence of the Low Countries, united the foreign regiments, mixed them with the old Spanish troops, so as to be enabled to launch on England thirty thousand veterans, without much reducing the usual garrisons. The forest of Waës, cut down by his orders, served to build flat boats for the transport of his troops ; and the strange thing is, that England did not appear to foresee or anticipate anything. The secret of so mighty an armament had been so well kept, that it was not

known on what point of the universe Philip II. would let fall his wrath.

Several of Elizabeth's councillors urged her to put her kingdom in a state of defence, telling her that the interests at stake were too great for England to remain a listless witness of such an expedition, wherever Philip II. might deal his blows. The Queen could not make up her mind for expense which she deemed useless.

The fleet put to sea in the first days of June; and it would likely have been all over with the Tudors and Protestantism, had it not been caught, off Cape Finisterre, in a heavy storm, which scattered it, rudely knocked it about, and forced it to put in for repairs at the Port of Corunna. That mishap gave Elizabeth time to assemble her troops and fortify the banks of the Thames. A general rising was ordered; the English were roused, their common danger rivetting them together; in a few days sixty thousand men were in arms; the Catholics forgot religious differences to think only of the country: the more dangerous were banished to the Isle of Ely and the interior of the kingdom. For several weeks there reigned an activity and oneness of purpose which did great honour to Elizabeth's government; and, but for that extraordinary danger, it might never have been possible to form a right estimate of the strength of England in the sixteenth century. Alone she was to cope with the most dreaded power in the world. France was hostile to her; Ireland groaned under the yoke; Scotland, though quieted for a while, was still threatening; and, to add to the difficulties, the English government had but very few ships of its own. They had to equip a fleet, just as they had raised an army. The City of London set the example of devotedness by placing thirty-eight vessels of various tonnage at the disposal of the Queen. Towns and rich individuals equipped others at their private expense, and there was an English fleet without burdening the Treasury. Drake, Frobisher, Winter and Hawkins, already famed for their exploits in far-distant climes, humbled their pride and stooped to serve under Admiral Howard of Effingham, a brave and skilful sailor.

Had it not been for the damage done to the Spanish fleet as it set sail, there could not have been time for those preparations, and no one can have deplored the loss of time more than Philip II. He had been advised to seize a port in Ireland, Scotland or Holland, to anchor his fleet if it had to seek shelter; he had rejected the wise advice, because it would give rise to delay, and had found fault with the Marquis of Santa Cruz for his slowness. He wanted to go boldly and

swiftly to conquer England before she was on the defensive. When the fleet named the "Invincible" was again able to go to sea, it was too late; the English were ready for it.

On the 20th of July it was in sight of Plymouth, where Drake and Howard had cast anchor. Favoured by the wind and by a moderate sea, the Spanish fleet sailed orderly, in the shape of a crescent, at once calling forth admiration and rousing fear. It would have been easy for it, while nearing land, to close and hem in, as in a net, Howard's flotilla. The most experienced among the Spanish captains thought it advisable to sail towards the coast, destroy the enemy's ships, and thus open up for themselves the way into England; but Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, who led in chief, acting literally up to the orders of Philip II., would not give battle till he should be joined by the Duke of Parma. That too nice observance of the King's orders saved the English, and gave the death-blow to the Spanish fleet.

Howard and Drake escaped, against all expectation, from that extreme danger. Thinking they had guessed the Spanish admiral's instructions, they from that time harassed, night and day, the Invincible Armada. The hour of disaster was nigh. The Armada, trusting to its strength and to its name of "Invincible," had till now kept merely on the defensive. It had reached Calais, where it came to anchor, waiting for the arrival of the Duke of Parma. On the 8th of August the sky was cloudy, the atmosphere became heavy and sultry, and at nightfall the air was no cooler. Meanwhile the sea was calm, but the darkness profound. In the middle of the night, the wind, coming from the south-west, began to blow with fury. The English fleet was moored within a cannon-shot higher up, having wind and wave in its favour. As a skilful sailor, Drake sent off to sea eight of his most damaged ships, after filling them with inflammable stuff and setting fire to them. Their livid light spread terror in the hearts of the Spaniards; they tried to save themselves, but the fire-ships, driven by the wind, advanced so swiftly, that fright banished prudence. The Spaniards cut their cables, unfurled their sails, and tried to get clear. In a short time the Armada was in dreadful confusion. The ships came into collision, and, vying with one another, made desperate efforts to gain the open sea. At the same time a violent storm broke out, and the ships, carried away by the hurricane, struggled in vain against the enraged elements: the whole night was spent in fruitless endeavours. At break of day, Drake, whose vessels had not suffered, pounced on the scattered Spanish fleet, bombarded it mercilessly, and damaged it beyond repair.

Several ships, closely followed, ran aground between Calais and the mouths of the Scheldt; the rest, in the bewilderment of despair, heeding no signal, fled with all sail into the North Sea: Drake cannonaded them as far up as Leith. England was saved. The Duke of Parma withdrew his troops, which were ready to embark, and the Armada, continuing its course across the seas which wash Scotland and Ireland, strewn their shores with wrecks.

Philip II. heard of the disaster with the heroism of a Christian prince, or the stoicism of a terrible pride. When Don Christoval de Moura told him that his Armada had been destroyed, he listened to him coldly, and answered him with the same assurance, "God be praised that He has given me the strength to bear such a loss, and that I am enabled to put again to sea a fleet as considerable; the water which flows may vanish, and its loss not be felt, if the spring be not dried up."

The behaviour of the English Catholics was in every way worthy of their creed. Far from wishing the triumph of Spain, several among them equipped ships at their own expense to fight the Spaniard; a greater number, and among them men of rank, enlisted as volunteers under Protestant chiefs. When the Armada was destroyed, Elizabeth rewarded their courage only by an atrocious persecution. The Catholics were watched, annoyed, imprisoned, condemned to heavy fines, banished, robbed without shame and without pity, surrounded by spies and made liable to have their houses searched. A great number perished by the hand of the executioner; others had their ears pierced with a red-hot iron; some died under the lash or were crushed under heavy stones.¹

Success had made Elizabeth bold against God Himself, and all the rest of her reign was stamped with the same arrogance. But all things have an end. God at times grants a long life to persecutors; but their end is always unhappy. Dazzling prosperity, riches, power and long days, are as nothing with Him; He often makes of those seeming favours so many tortures. I should be sorry to hurt the feelings of a people whom I admire and love, and with whom I have spent very pleasant hours; nor should I wish either to offend them in their religious convictions, by representing Elizabeth as a ferocious tyrant, or by exaggerating the horror of her last moments. As a genius and as an administrator, she is worthy of praise, I admit; but as a woman, I know not with whom

¹ I do not mean to justify those horrors, but it is becoming in me to say that the Catholics gave cause for those punishments by indiscreet writings, which seemed rather a defiance than

a defence. Elizabeth could not but be offended, as a Queen and as a woman, at several of those publications. See Proofs, V.

to compare her—she goes beyond the detestable. If I were a Protestant and an English subject, perhaps my love for my country and my religion might make her less hateful to me ; but I am wanting in those two qualities. Be that as it may, I beg the reader to believe in my sincerity, and not to think that I write the sad lines which I have yet to pen, to brand a Queen, dead nearly three hundred years.

After such long prosperity, Elizabeth might fancy herself one of those privileged creatures on whom misfortune has no hold. The sixteenth century had passed, and had witnessed her greatness and her ever-growing good fortune ; the seventeenth was dawning, and nothing foretold any early change. England was powerful, dreaded without and happy within. The Catholics, crippled by suffering and confiscations, and fewer in number by exile, dared not raise their heads. Elizabeth seemed a goddess ruling entire Europe by her genius and her fortune ; yet she was her own scourge. The death of Essex, whom she had had beheaded, plunged her suddenly into mourning, and showed her, for the first time, how much bitterness may dwell in the human heart. She became taciturn and mistrustful. The ladies of her Court, witnesses of her grief, followed her with their looks, not daring to question her ; their silence was taken for aversion, and Elizabeth, devoured by fear and suspicion, became wrapped up in herself more closely than ever. She was often seen seated alone, during long hours, busy nursing her sorrows. Her sunken eyes, her wasted and wrinkled features, and the suspicious expression of her face, made silence and terror reign around her. She soon refused all food. No one in the world knew the reason of her sadness ; some pitied her—others, and Burghley was among the number, thought her mad. Yet it was easy to see, from her stifled cries, groans and choked sighs, that a great grief was breaking her heart. She fancied she heard mysterious noises, with which were mingled pleasing or terrible remembrances of Essex, Arabella Stuart or the rebel Tyrone. The whisperings of those around her threw her into mortal frights ; she thought herself detested by her subjects. “Let me die in peace,” said she to her women, when they pressed her to take some food, “for the English are tired of me as I am of them.” She no longer changed her clothing, and the courtiers looked upon that as a bad omen, that her coquettishness had forsaken her.¹ It sometimes

¹ A bad omen indeed, for, in the year preceding her death, she danced “une gaillarde” with the Duke of Bracciano, “to show the vigour of her old age ;” and it cannot have

been “a little wonder to see an old woman, the head of the Church, being seventy years of age, to dance in that manner, and to perform her part so well.”—Goodman, I., 18.

happened that her haughty disposition threw off that morbid apathy, but those short intervals were more to be dreaded than desired. Then she became wild, stamped her feet, and cursed, or seizing a sword which she always had beside her, she struck the furniture violently with it, and thrust it into the cushions and tapestry of her room, with terrifying threats. Several months were spent in that wild state of over-excitement. Weary of Westminster, she left London in the depth of winter, and, in damp and rainy weather, went to Richmond; but her illness only increased. She imagined she saw horrible ghosts, and heard frightful sounds; and mentioned them to her ladies as facts. In the height of her madness, she sat on a chair for two days and three nights; on another occasion, she kept standing with similar obstinacy. Often, seated on a cushion, she remained silent, one finger on her lips, her eyes fixed upon the floor, and quite motionless. When the lords and bishops tried to comfort her, she looked at them scornfully, and allowed them to go on speaking, or answered them only briefly. The Lord Admiral, for whom she still felt a little esteem, having desired her to go to bed, she answered him confidentially, that if he had seen the visions which haunted her he would never again ask her to do so. Lord Burghley thought he might insist on her taking rest. "Fool," cried the Queen, "you are very presuming, because you know I am going to die." She then relapsed into her grief. The hideous apparitions, called up at the thought of death stealing upon her, came anew and more threatening. She sent away those around, with the exception of the Lord Admiral. "My Lord," said she to him, "I am held in chains: I have an iron collar round my neck." As he tried to console her, she exclaimed in a still louder voice, "I am in bondage—I am lost!"

The night of the 23d and 24th of March, which was the last of her life, brought her no more peace. The lords who were present, seeing her grow weaker and weaker, asked her whom she wished for her successor. The Kings of France and Scotland were named to her; but she made no reply. The bastard of Catherine Grey was mentioned: "No!" said she, "I do not wish the son of a wretch upon the throne." The hateful woman died, bequeathing to her subjects, at the moment of her death, the risk of a civil war, through her stubbornness to name her successor.

CONCLUSION.

NOW that we are come to the end of the history of Mary Stuart, we must take a glance back, and show the reader the unbroken chain of misfortunes which overwhelmed that Princess. We think the life of no other human being could have been more wretched and more innocent than hers. When one looks back upon that stormy life, it seems as if an un pitying fate delighted in multiplying her misfortunes. Her sad destiny welcomed her at birth ; she had not the good fortune to know her father : he was dying when she saw the light, but her babyhood sheltered her from grief, else her heart had begun to mourn when it began to live. Slander, that other scourge, already clung to her. The young Queen, who, at a later period was to be so brilliant, was given out to be a deformed being, unworthy of filling a throne. The ambassador of England had to see her naked, ere the false rumours were hushed.

After grief and slander, came politics. Sought after by Henry VIII., she had to flee away and hide herself in a monastery, rising from the middle of a lake, to keep her freedom safe. But soon, she is not in safety even there : suitors seek her hand ; the Regent of Scotland and the King of England aim at that alliance ; the old monastery is no longer a safe refuge ; young Mary is shut up in Dunbarton, thence sails for France, and escapes, by a hair's-breadth, the English fleet, on the look-out for her. Her youth was thereafter full of bitterness, for the bread of exile, though given by a friendly hand, is not so sweet as the bread of home.

Brilliant and worshipped at the Court of France, she must have been poisoned, had not the vile intent of the wretch been found out ; her guardian, less looked after, was basely murdered. She weds the Dauphin ; people might have said, and truly believed, that she was to be for ever happy, for France was at her feet ; she had, within her, all that was wanted to charm hearts and win them ; she counted on long and happy days : but death comes suddenly and tears down the scaffolding of her happiness, and on the morrow, she is alone beside a corpse,

which she, in sadness, gives to the earth, and then finds herself bereft of family, court, and power, an exile among her own, and hated by her mother-in-law, the treacherous Médicis.

She must flee to Scotland. God knows how sad for her was the day on which she left France ; her happiness was for ever gone ; the harsh reformer Knox, and those of his sect, are about to worry her without ceasing, and wage against her a bitter war. Let her forsake her religion and she is saved ; but the gentle victim, brought up in the bosom of Catholicism, loves her faith better than the throne and peace. A terrible struggle begins : Mary tries to gain over the heretics by gentle means, then to intimidate them by threats ; but what can a feeble woman do against so many narrow-minded fanatics ? Her second husband, instead of aiding her, does all he can to thwart her. He makes common cause with the rebels who scorn him, and helps them to murder Riccio, not dreaming for one moment that he is helping on for himself a like fate, and while he is cruelly vexing his wife, a price is put upon his head : Mary Stuart falls to him who shall put her husband to death. The disaster at Kirk-of-Field happens ; the murderers, judges, and investigators of the guilty, absolve one another : Mary is given to Bothwell. Suddenly the scene changes : rumour stealthily gains ground against Mary and Bothwell ; the assassin is named, and Mary is charged with taking part in the murder ; people run to arms on all sides ; Mary leaves Bothwell, gives herself up, and the unfortunate lady is insulted by the mob, locked up in a prison in the middle of a lake, and forced to sign her abdication. She escapes from Lochleven Castle, only to flee to England and throw herself into the arms of her executioner.

Those indeed are disasters to be wept over ; but what most grieved Mary was to find herself blamed with all the enormities of which she was the innocent victim, and to know that she was forsaken. The author of that disorder was the frightful Buchanan, at one time the trumpeter of Mary's praises. He penned hateful writings, small heaps of filth, artfully got up, and scattered largely throughout the island and over the continent. With Elizabeth as the abettor, and Moray as the soul, the Scottish party lavishly encourage him ; public opinion is founded on those lying details and the thing is settled.

Time speeds on. Buchanan is the first to acknowledge his crime in slandering Mary, and, on his death-bed, wishes all he had written of her to be blotted out. Lady Lennox sets forth in her letters her belief in the innocence of her daughter-in-law, and has not tears enough to bewail the wrong which she has done her ; several lords, weaned from

their past errors, wish, by dint of courage, to atone for their past conduct ; Kirkaldy forfeits his life by returning to the Queen's party ; Bothwell, a prisoner in Denmark, publicly owns Mary's innocence, and names the assassins. Supposing no other changes in public opinion had occurred during Mary's life, any prudent man ought to make more allowances for the Queen, and believe her the victim of a dark intrigue.

The authors of those deep plots have uselessly forged history, misstated facts, and changed dates ; the letters which they familiarly wrote to each other suffice to convict them of rascality. They are ever at variance ; they put on an outward show of firmness, and assert the guilt of their Queen, while in their secret letters, they are seen trembling with fear, lest the light should dawn, and lest the clouds, gathered together by their hands, should some day vanish into thin air.

Their fears were not vain fears. If some of them succeeded for a while—if several of the murderers filled the throne as Regent, they afterwards fell wretchedly from the lofty, but usurped, height. The accomplice-band of assassins tore one another to pieces when it came to the division of the booty. They punished themselves, and accused one another of the crimes with which they blamed the Queen. They are all dead : Mary and Elizabeth, Bothwell, Moray, and Morton, have long been in the grave, and if it were necessary, in the present day, to crown one of those dead, the generations undeceived, would, with tearful eyes, place a crown on the brow of the unfortunate Mary Stuart.

DISSERTATIONS AND PROOFS.

DISSERTATION I.

RICCIO.

MARY STUART is guilty because :

- I. *The cotemporary documents accuse her of excessive familiarity with Riccio.*
- II. *Her deep love for the foreign musician made her raise him suddenly to a high position.*
- III. *Those who killed Riccio, did so, to avenge the King's honour ; and because there could have been no other reason for the murder.*

I.—COTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS.

Two texts especially blacken the fame of Mary Stuart. The first is Ruthven's Narrative (*Bishop Keith, app. 119 sq.*), and the second, a letter from Paul de Foix to Catherine de Médicis (*Teulet, II., 264 sq.*).

Ruthven's narrative states that Mary behaved with Riccio in a manner unworthy of her rank and religion, and puts the following speech into the mouth of Darnley :

"I have good reason for me, for since yonder fellow David came in credit and familiarity with your Majesty, you neither regarded me, entertained me, nor trusted me after your wonted fashion ; for every day before dinner you were wont to come to my chamber, and past the time with me, and this long time you have not done so ; and when I came to your Majesty's chamber, you bare me little company except David had been the third person ; and after supper, your Majesty used to sit up at the cards with the said David till one or two after midnight. And this is the entertainment I have had of you this long time. Her Majesty answered that it was not a gentlewoman's duty to come to her husband's chamber, but rather the husband to come to the wife's. The King answered : How came you to my chamber in the beginning, and ever till within these six months, that David fell into familiarity with you? Or am I failed in any sort in my body? Or what disdain have you of me? etc."

That charge, according to the Queen's enemies, led Darnley "to assert that the villain David had dishonoured his bed" (*M. Mignet, I., 208, note*), an accusation which the Earl of Bedford reproduced in his letter to the Councillors of Elizabeth, without, however, attaching any great importance to it.

"It is said," writes he, "that he (Darnley) answered that David had more compagnie of her boddie then he for the space of two monethes, and therefore, for her honor and his owne contentement, he gave consent that he sholde be taken awaye."—*Ellis*, I., ii., 211.

The other document, coming from a French pen, is certainly more overwhelming for Mary, as it bears the signature of Paul de Foix, ambassador of France in London.

"Les causes de la mort de David (Riccio) on en allègue deux principales qui furent mandées à la Royne d'Angleterre, l'une est que le Roy, quelques jours auparavant, environ une heure après minuict, seroit allé heurter à la Chambre de ladicte dame qui estoit au dessus de la sienne; et d'autant que, après avoir plusieurs fois heurté l'on ne luy respondoit point, il auroit appelé souvant la Royne, la priant de ouvrir, et enfin la menaçant de rompre la porte; à cause de quoy elle lui auroit ouvert. La quelle ledict Roy trouva seule dedans ladicte chambre; mais ayant cherché partout il auroit trouvé dedans son cabinet ledict David en chemise, couvert seulement d'une robbe fourrée—qui est la principale cause."

"L'autre estoit parceque la Royne d'Escosse ne vouloit consentir ni accordé qu'il fut couronné Roy, et aussi refusoit presque tout ce que le Roy luy demandoit; ce qu'il cuidoit procéder du conseil que ledict David donnoit à ladicte dame; à cause de quoy il s'estoit grandement irrité." Cf. Randolph and Bedford to Cecil.—*Tyler*, III., 218; *Blackwood*, 545.

"Of the causes of David's (Riccio) death, two main ones are given which were told to the Queen of England; the one is that the King, some days before, about one o'clock in the morning, had gone and knocked at the Queen's chamber, which was above his own; and as, after knocking several times he got no answer, he often called to the Queen, begging her to open, and at length threatened to break in the door, upon which she opened it to him. The King found her alone in her chamber, but after seeking everywhere, he found in her closet the said David in his shirt, covered only with a furred gown,—that was the chief cause."

"The other was that the Queen of Scots would not consent that he should be crowned King, and also that she refused almost everything the King asked of her; which he thought was brought about by the advice which the said David gave to the said lady; for that reason he had become greatly enraged."

Ruthven's account is deserving of no belief: first, because it is unlikely; it contains flashes of wit, moral reflections, and fine speeches, out of keeping with the situation. Mary threatens Ruthven with the anger of the King of Spain, the Emperor, the King of France, the Lorrain Princes, his Holiness the Pope and several Italian Princes. "Those noble Princes," answers Ruthven, "are of too high rank to have anything to do with a poor man like me." What an absurd speech, in a moment of anger! "After the murder," says M. Wiesener, "Ruthven comes back to her (Mary) and reads her a lecture on the duties of marriage: forthwith, he gets Mary to arrange to meet Darnley. The latter does not come forward, because he has slept too soundly. A most unlikely thing indeed!"—*M. Wiesener*, 72, note 2: secondly, because "there is in the State Paper Office a joint letter from Morton and Ruthven, dated the 2d of April 1566, to Cecil, with a draft of their representation of the slaughter of Davy; in which letter

Cecil is asked to correct it and send it back, to be circulated in Scotland and other places, for the staying of false reports.—*Chalmers*, II., 352, *note u*.

That note destroys the little value which Ruthven's account in itself might have had, and stamps that document as apocryphal. Bishop Keith observed, one hundred and fifty years ago, that there were no papers more misleading than those of Cecil; he adds, that he has seen in the Cottonian Library, a large number of documents altered or interpolated by the hand of the minister to damage the reputation of the Queen of Scots.—*Bishop Keith*, 364, *note g*.

The despatch of P. de Foix is not of more value, for the adventure related as the *principal cause* of the death of Riccio, happened only *some days before*. Now, the conspiracy was already far advanced on the 13th of February.

"I know that there are practices in hand, contrived by the father and son, to come by the Crown against her will. I know that if that take effect which is intended, David, with the consent of the King, shall have his throat cut within these ten days."—*Randolph's Letter, Tytler*, III., 215; *Caird*, 50.

Therefore, the *principal cause* is inadmissible.

Moreover, it is positively certain that Darnley never, either in private or in public, reproached the Queen with over-familiarity with anyone, and that before the Privy Council, six months later, he even confessed "that she had never given him reason to be displeased."—*Teulet* II., 287; *Bishop Keith*, 346. Melville and Knox, so eager to speak badly of Mary, do not say one word about indecent familiarities; the latter merely calls Riccio "foolish," and does not allude to Mary. Had there been any scandal, the ministers would certainly have taken advantage of it to defame the Queen of Scots, since they already inveighed so loudly against her on account of her dress, and Chastelard's foolhardiness.—*Sanderson*, 30, 31.

That murder moved the pity of the people, who saw in Riccio only the Queen's principal secretary, massacred by the nobles jealous of his influence. The Diurnal of Occurrents tells of his death in pitiful words :

"Upon the nynt day of Merche, the yeir of God 1565 yeris, quhilk wes Settirday, at aucht houris at evin, ane Italiane callit Senyeor David Richio, quha wes principall Secretare to our Souerane Ladie in the Frenche tong, best belovit be hir or all hir seruandis, wes crwellie slane be the personis," etc.—89.

Mary is blamed for having, in her excess of love, had her favourite buried in the Chapel Royal. It is false. George Marioreybanks,

citizen of Edinburgh, and consequently as likely as anybody to know the truth, writes that he was buried in Holyrood Cemetery :

"He was buried in the Kirk Yaird of Holyroodhouse" (18).

Balfour confirms that particular (I., 334).

Mary may have had the body disinterred at a later period, to bury it in the Chapel Royal; it is even almost certain that she did so; but such a course would not prove that she was in love with Riccio, for we still see now-a-days several graves of men less high in rank than was the secretary, who, nevertheless, were buried in the Chapel Royal during the sixteenth century. Paul de Foix, no doubt unaware of that, wrote to France :

"Elle a fait desterrer le cors du dict David du cimetierre ou il estoit et l'a remis dedans l'esglise en une sepulture honorable, au rang des Rois." Paul de Foix to Catherine de Médicis.—*Teulet*, 266.

"She has had the body of the said David removed from the cemetery in which it lay, and has had it put in the church, in an honourable place of burial among the dust of kings."

Mackenzie does not seem to have been convinced of the truth of the account given by Paul de Foix, for instead of the "*sepulture honorable*" and the "*rang des Rois*," he tamely says, quoting Mary Stuart herself and the Bishop of Ross :

"He was buried in the porch of the church" (III., 286).

But if the Queen was guiltless of that, how have the unfortunate reports of misbehaviour been noised among the people ?

"La prima resolution che fu fatta era che fosse ammazzato dentro un castello chiamato Setton. . . . Un'altra volta proposero di ammazarlo in un giuoco di palla ove era solito spesso di giuoccare insieme con il Re. Uno dei complici disse non esser buono di farlo in quel luogo, all'assenza della Reina, per rispetto dei popoli, ma che facendolo alla presenza di lei et in camera sua, li popoli si sarian creduti che egli fosse stato trovato in atto tale che il Re non harebbe potuto di meno che farlo morire allora."—*Mémoires Italiens, Prince Labanoff*, VII., 72.

"They first made up their minds to kill him in a castle named Seton. . . . At another time, they proposed to murder him during a game at tennis, which he often played at with the King. One of the accomplices said that it was not good to do the act in such a place, and in the absence of the Queen, owing to the people; but that if he were killed in her presence and in her room, the people must believe that they had been found in such a position that the King could not do less than put him to death at once."

The Queen of England hastened to take advantage of that disposition on the part of the conspirators.

"Fece scrivere per il suo secretario Cecille per tutto il Regno, che la causa di tutto il suddetto era perchè il Re haveva trovato il detto Ricciolo a dormire con la Regina. *Il che non fu mai vero*."—*Awisi di Scotia, Prince Labanoff*, VII., 62.

"She caused her secretary, Cecil, to spread in writing throughout the kingdom that the cause of the above-mentioned (murder) was the King finding the said Riccio in bed with the Queen, *which never happened*."

II.—HER DEEP LOVE FOR THE FOREIGN MUSICIAN MADE HER RAISE HIM SUDDENLY
TO A HIGH POSITION.

That Riccio rose from nothing, no one can deny : his birth seemed to promise him only a modest career. The Count de Morette, on his journey to Scotland, brought him as secretary, and through that he came into notice.

“Il Conte di Moretta menò seco allora per segretario un David Riccio di Pancalieri in Piemonte, il qual nell'istessa maniera haveva prima servito Monsignor l'Arcivescovo di Turino, cognato di esso Signore, et molto bene explicava il suo concetto nell'idioma italiano et francese, et particolarmente era buon musico, dove che la Reina facendo dir sempre la messa nel suo palazzo, poiche era tornato e pur assai desiderando d'havere una compagnia di musici, oltre che essa si diletta a cantare et sonare di viola, ordinò al marchese suo zio di pregar il Conte di Moretta a esser contento concedergli per segretario David ; il che fatto et lasciato in Scozia, la Reina lo fece varletto di camera sua et dappoi lo credè segretario.”—*Mem. Italiens*, VII., 65.

“The Count di Moretta then took with him as secretary, a man who had filled the same office with his Grace the Archbishop of Turin, a relative of that lord. The man was David Riccio, of Pancalieri in Piedmont, and he was able to express himself well in both Italian and French. He was, moreover, a good musician ; and as the Queen, since her return from France, always had mass said in her palace (without taking into account that she delighted in singing and playing the rebeck), she ordered the Marquis, her uncle, to beg of the Count di Moretta to be so good as leave her his secretary, David. That request having been granted, Riccio remained in Scotland, and the Queen made him her valet, and afterwards her secretary.”

He succeeded Raulet in that function. In another despatch, addressed from Edinburgh (8th October) to the same Grand Duke of Tuscany, the following new particulars are found :

“Al partire di detto Monsignor di Moretto di Scotia, restò detto Davit con la buona gratia del suo padrone al servitio della Regina per valet di camera, dove che servendo bene et fedelmente, et facendo esperienza delle sue virtù, a capo di due anni incirca, fu fatto segretario di Sua Maestà, et in quel' offitio riuscì sì bene che la più gran parte de negotij di quel Regno passavano per le sue manj, et in ogni espeditione si governava con sì buon consiglio, et conduceva a sì buona esequitione, che n'era molto amato da Sua Maestà, et così mostravano amarlo et honorarlo la più gran parte de Signori gentilhomini et populi di quel Regno.”—*Mem. Ital.*, VII., 87.

“When the said Count di of Moretta left Scotland, the said David remained, with his master's consent, in the service of the Queen, as valet. Seeing that he did his duty properly and faithfully, and that his good qualities shone more from day to day, he was, in the space of two years, made Secretary to her Majesty. He succeeded so well in that charge, that the greater part of the affairs of the kingdom went through his hands ; and he acted with so much prudence in all his undertakings, and brought them to so happy an end, that her Majesty loved him much for it, and that the most of the lords, gentlemen and people of Scotland pretended to love and honour him also.”

The passage contains two distinct statements : 1st, Riccio rendered great services to the Queen ; 2d, Riccio was esteemed by the principal members of the aristocracy.

It does not enter into my subject to study what services Riccio may have rendered to the Queen as secretary, properly so called, but, as a

politician, he promoted Mary Stuart's interests in a very important affair. The marriage of the Queen with Darnley, which Riccio favoured, was a grand scheme, since by it the two nearest heirs to the throne of England were united. True it is, the marriage turned out badly, and the good expected from it never came; but Riccio, no more than any other, could foresee that fatal end. The political object, however, had been attained, and the modest secretary might well exclaim, on thinking of his work :—

“Laudato sia Dio! che le nozze non si potranno più disturbare.”—*Mem. Ital.*, 90. “God be praised! the marriage can no longer be hindered.”

Spottiswoode, referring to the marriage, does not hesitate to call Riccio a man “of politic wit” (II., 27).

With reference to the honours which were lavished upon him by all the nobles, let it suffice me to say that Moray, the Prince of the Scottish nobility, after his rebellion,

“had suttet him very earnestly, and mair humbly then any man wald haue beleued, with the present of a faire dyamont, inclosed within a lettre full of repentance, and faire promyses fra that tym fourth to be his frend and protectour.”—*Sir James Melville's Memoirs, Bannatyne Club Edition*, 147.

“Great men made court unto him,” writes Knox (IV., 303).

A great number of the cotemporary writers, and those of a later date, who have treated the Riccio question seriously, pass a flattering eulogium on the Piedmontese. Lord Herries calls him “an active politick man, whose counsell the Queen made use of in her greatest affairs.”—*Memoirs*, 69. Brantôme says that: “comme il estoit homme d'esprit, la Reine l'aimoit pour le maniment de ses affaires.”—*Discours sur Marie Stuart*. Eytzinger depicts him as a man, “prudent, sagace et rusé.”—*Eytzinger MS.*, 9.

Those texts justify, I think, the elevation of Riccio and the esteem in which Mary always held him.

III.—THOSE WHO KILLED RICCIO, DID SO TO AVENGE THE KING'S HONOUR, BECAUSE THERE COULD HAVE BEEN NO OTHER REASON FOR THE MURDER.

Ruthven, if his word can be believed, said to the Queen at the time of the murder :—

“He (Riccio) hath offended your honour, which I dare not be so bold as to speak of.”—*Ruthven's Narrative, Keith app.*, 123.

Craufurd says that the nobles killed Riccio in the Queen's chamber, to

"fasten a reproach upon the Queen's honour, by having made her husband the prime agent in the execution of the affair, as if he had suspected her virtue, and had engaged in the business on that score alone."—*Memoirs*, 7.

Buchanan, book xvii., cap. 56 of his History, writes :

"Cum plura clandestinus rumor (ut in rebus minus honestis fieri solet) mussaret; Rex tamen certus, nisi re explorata, nemini credere, accepto, Davidem cubiculum Reginae ingressum, ipse ad ostium cujus clavem se penes semper habebat, accessit, ac præter morem interius oppellatum invenit. Cum pulsanti nemo responderet, ingentem irarum molem animo coquens, noctem eam prope insomnem egit."

As those things were taking place openly, and secret rumour (as always happens in matters of scandal) was publishing much more, the King thought he could rely on no one without looking into the matter for himself, and having learned that Riccio had entered the Queen's chamber, he gently approached the small door, of which he had the key; finding it shut from the inside contrary to the usual, he knocked, and as he got no answer, he thought of a thousand means of revenge, and spent nearly the whole night awake.

That is the adventure related by Paul de Foix, and refuted in the first paragraph. The historian continues :

"Ex illo, paucis e domesticis adhibitis . . . de Davide tollendo consultat."

"Having then taken some servants . . . he consults with them on the means of killing David."

It is clear, from the foregoing, that Riccio's alleged intercourse with the Queen, was made the pretext to murder him. The real cause was quite different, for the luckless Piedmontese died only through the jealousy of the nobles.

In the despatch which was sent from Scotland to Cosmo I., and which I have already quoted, it is said that :

"Hora venendo agli orecchi di Lenox padre del Re, et agli suoi parenti, che il principal nemico di casa loro (Chatterault) col mezzo di David haveva ottenuta la grazia, cominciarono tutti a pensare di vendicarsi e trovar modo di haver la corona matrimoniale, che era quella che da una Reina nel grado come si trova hoggi questa vien data al Re suo marito, et non è quella che è ordinaria per successione, rispondendo i banditi che il Conte di Lenox non era più contento che tanto di così fatto procedere, hebbon mezzo di fargli intendere se fosse per comportare che David avesse più credito con la Reina che lui et il proprio Re, suo figliuolo et marito di lei, aggiungendo per avventura più cose assai che non erano vere."—*Mem. Ital.*, 71.

"The earl of Lennox, the King's father, and his relatives, having heard that the chief enemy of their house had obtained his pardon by means of David, began to think of being revenged, and of finding the means to procure the crown-matrimonial, which is that by which a Queen raises the King, her husband, to her present grandeur, and not that which is usual by succession. The conspirators noticing that the Earl of Lennox was not satisfied with what had taken place, found means to make him understand, that he was not to allow that David should have more influence over the Queen, than he or his son the King, husband of that same Queen; to which they added, at random, a certain number of things which were not true."

Not only the family of Lennox, but a large majority of the nobles felt hurt at being governed by a foreigner; hatred accumulated by

degrees, and Presbyterian fanaticism assisted the pride of the lords, in getting up a conspiracy against that Italian who "governed at pleasure."—*Calderwood*, 164.

"David," writes Randolph, on the 3d of June, 1565, "now worketh all, and is only governor to the King and his family; great is his pride, and his words intolerable."—*Bishop Keith*, 282.

"David," he writes again, eight months later, "yet retayneth still his place, not without hart-griefe to many that see their soveraigne gwidid chiefly by such a fellowe."—*Stevenson's Illust.*, 153.

He imprudently set himself forward as superior to the Scots,

"and," says Melville, "occupied Hir Maiesteis ear of tymes, in presens of the Nobilite, and when ther was gretest conventions of the estatis; quhilk maid hym to be sa invyed and hatted, cheifly when he grew sa gret, that he presented all signatours to be subscryuit be Hir Maieste, that some of the nobilite wald glowm upon hym, and some of them wald schulder hym and schut hym by, when they entrit in the chamber, and fand hym always speaking with Hir Maieste."—*Sir James Melville's Memoirs, Bannat. Club*, 132.

Knox confirms those particulars:

"This David Riccio was so foolish, that not only he had drawn unto him the managing of all affairs, the King (being) set aside, but also his equipage and train surpass the King's; and at the Parliament, that was to be, he was ordained to be Chancellor; WHICH MADE THE LORDS CONSPIRE AGAINST HIM."—*Knox's Reform.*, V., 342.

The religious zeal of the nobles increased the hatred they felt at being looked down upon by a foreigner. Riccio was said to be in receipt of a pension from the Pope (*Melville*, 136), and that made him odious to the Protestants.

"The said slaughter," wrote Morton and Ruthven, after the deed, "(was) moved upon no particular quarrel of ours, but were solicited thereunto by the King, whose hatred was so great against the said Davy, that he intended to have done the same with his own hand, if we had not assisted his Grace therein. And finding the King so bent against the said Davy, who was a pestilent counsellor to the Queen's Majesty, our Sovereign, against the nobility, common well of our country, the religion, forfeiture of our brethern then banished for the time, we thought it meet and convenient to labour for the relief of our brethern . . . we are in trouble for the relief of our brethern and the religion."—*Goodall*, I., 264.

The bond of assassination was based on the same reasons:—

"A paper was signed which included thrie things—to bring home the banished Lords, to establish the Reformed Relligion, and to cutt off Signior Davie by some means or other."—*Herries' Memoirs*, 76; *Sanderson*, 41; *Mackenzie*, III., 66, 67.

In the "Informacione for my Lord of Bedford," the murderers express themselves thus:

"For in veritye nether we, our frendes, assistars, nor pertakers, mened any other thinge in our proceedinges—but the establishinge of the religion, conservation of the amytye betwixt the tow realmes (England and Scotland) and the relief of our frendes."—*Stevenson's Illust.*, 169.

Knox applauded from the pulpit, that murder which delivered the

Reformed Church from its most terrible enemy (*Tytler's History*, III., 403), and Bedford exclaimed:—

“now, that this enemy of religion is taken away, everything will go well.”—*Chalmers*, I., 259.

I think I have said enough to show that Mary is innocent:

1st, Because the cotemporary documents which accuse her of criminal intrigues with Riccio are of no value.

2d, Because that foreigner was suddenly raised for good reasons.

3d, Because he was put to death for the good of the country and religion, and by no means for his imputed familiarities with the Queen.

DISSERTATION II.

MARY IN HER RELATIONS WITH DARNLEY AND BOTHWELL.

MARY is guilty of the murder of Darnley because :

- I. *She never loved her husband.*
- II. *He was murdered by her orders, and she did not show the slightest grief.*
- III. *She has against her :*
 1. *Her letters written to Bothwell.*
 2. *The depositions of the accomplices who were punished for sharing in the King's murder.*
 3. *The attitude assumed by the family of Lennox, which, instead of removing from her, would have drawn nearer to her, had not her conduct been criminal.*
- IV. *She married the murderer of her husband after having had him acquitted.*

I.—SHE NEVER LOVED HER HUSBAND.

The enemies of the Queen of Scots try to prove her guilt in the murder by descanting on the coldness she showed to her husband while they lived together. Moray, at the Westminster Conferences, heads his first Count of Indictment :

"The first part contenis the alteratioun of the said Quenis affectioun fra vmquhile king henrie our Souerane lordes father hir lauchfull husband of gude memory In converting hir ardent lufe towardis him in extreme disdayn and deidlie hatrent."—*Book of Articles, Hosack.*

Historians have, it is true, somewhat softened down the terms, and have chosen to attribute to Mary, coldness, rather than hatred, for her husband. The case, however, remains unchanged ; for, on both sides, blame is attached to Mary, and Darnley is depicted as an artless youth ever seeking, but in vain, to touch the heart of his unfeeling wife. I do not like to swell out, with particulars, a discussion which threatens to be

long; I should fear to weary the reader. Yet it is of importance to point out exactly, and from the first, on which side lie the faults.

Those who pretend that Mary, immediately after marriage, took a special delight in mortifying her husband, are ignorant of history, or anxious to mislead the reader. Melville writes :

"Sche did him gret honour hir self, and willit euery ane that wald deserue hir fauour till do the lyk."—*Melville's Memoirs, Rannatyne Club*, 137.

She confers upon him the title of King, ordering :—

"That all letters to be directed after the marriage and during the continuance thaireof should be in his name and her name, as King and Queen of Scotland conjunctly." "All honour," says Randolph, "that may be attribute unto any man by a wife, he hath it wholly and fully. All praise that may be spoken of him, he laketh not from herself. All dignities that she can endow him with, are already given and granted. No man pleaseth her that contenteth not him. And what may I say more? She hath given over unto him her whole will, to be ruled and guided as himself best liketh. She can as much prevail with him in anything that is against his will, as your Lordship may with me, to persuade that I should hang myself; this last dignity, out of hand, to have him proclaimed King, she would have had deferred until it were agreed by Parliament, or till he himself had been twenty-one years of age, that things done in his name might have the better authority. He would in no case have it deferred one day; and either now or never."—*Goodall*, I., 222; *Robertson*, app., xi.

Mary was not satisfied with promising; she gave Darnley, not only as much, but more than she had a right to give.

"This doubt," continues Randolph, "is risen amongst our men of law, whether she being clad with a husband, and her husband not twenty-one years, anything without Parliament can be of strength, that is done between them."—*Robertson*, app., xi.

The coins bore the effigies of Darnley and Mary, with the exergue HENRICUS ET MARIA. (*Bishop Keith*, app., 165.) He signed, as King, the passports of Tamworth, and it was not Mary's fault that Darnley's acts were not looked upon as royal. England, however, refused to recognise them, because the English envoy could not acknowledge him King. (*Bishop Keith*, app., 164.)

In November 1565, he wrote in kingly form to the Laird of Lochleven :

"Our pleasure is also that ye-restrayne," &c.—*Henry R. (Registrum honoris de Morton)*, 14.

In the same work is found a warrant "to charge James Erle of Mortoun, Patrick Lord Ruthven, and Patrick Lord Lindesay of the Byres, and utheris," beginning with these words :—

"Henry and Marie be the Grace of God King and Quene of Scottis, To our louittis Peter Thomson," &c.

What, during that time, is Darnley's conduct? On the 3d of July 1565, Randolph writes to Leicester :

"He is of an insolent imperious temper, and thinks that he is never sufficiently honoured. The Queen does every thing to oblige him, tho' he cannot be prevailed upon to yield the smallest thing to please her. He claims the crown-matrimonial and will have it immediately: the Queen tells him that that must be delayed till he be of age, and done by consent of Parliament; which does not satisfy him."—*Bishop Keith*, app., 163.

He asked what Mary could not of her own free will give him; to get the Crown-matrimonial, the nation must recognise Darnley as its King, and associate him with the throne by a decree of Parliament. Mary busied herself to have that done.

"The fourth day of May, the earl of Murray came to Stirling, where he was well received by the Queen's Majesty, as appeared, and immediately, as he passed with her to my lord Darnley's chamber, they presented to him a contract, containing in effect, that forasmuch as, or since, the Queen had contracted marriage with the lord Darnley; and that therefore sundry lords of the nobility had underwritten, ratified and approved the same; and obliged themselves to contract unto him in full parliament the crown matrimonial . . . to serve and obey him and her as their lauchful Sovereigns. The Queen desired my lord Murray to subscribe, as many others had done before, which he refused to do; 'Because,' said he, 'it is required necessarily that the whole nobility be present, at least the principal, and such as he himself was posterior unto, before that so grave a matter should be advised and concluded.' The Queen's Majesty, no ways content with this answer, insisted still upon him, saying, the greatest part of the nobility were there present and content with the matter . . . but he still refused for the causes above written."—*Knox's Reform.*, V., 325.

The feeble Prince, tired of waiting, laid the blame on the secretary Riccio, and gave grounds for the ruin of Mary's reputation. That odious crime, which shows deep-rooted ingratitude in the Prince, is fully proved by the cotemporary documents.

"I know," writes Randolph (February 1566) "that there are practices in hand contrived between the father and son (Lennox and Darnley) to come by the crown against her will."—*Tytler*, III., 215.

On the 6th of March he gives full particulars, by saying that Darnley wishes to get the Crown-matrimonial and rid himself of Riccio, who has outraged his honour, and he adds:—

"If persuasions to cause the Queen to yield to these matters do no good, they purpose to proceed we know not in what sort. If she be able to make any power at home, she shall be withstood, and herself kept from all other counsel than her own nobility. If she seek any foreign support, the Queen's Majesty, our Sovereign (Elizabeth) shall be sought, and sued to accept her and their defence, with offers reasonable to her Majesty's contentment." Bedford and Randolph's Letter.—*Tytler*, III., 218.

Darnley's conspiracy, however, did not escape Blackwood, perhaps the shrewdest among the historians living at the time of Mary Stuart. Speaking of Riccio, he said:

"Son maistre le haïssoit grandement, tant à cause qu'il auoit trauaillé pour le rétablissement de la maison d'Hamilton, dont il estoit ennemy, qu' à cause que non seulement il

"His master hated him greatly, because he had worked to restore the house of Hamilton, whose enemy he was, and because he not only refused to join in, but also revealed to the

refusa de signer, mais aussi reuela à la Royne certaine conspiration conclue entre son Altesse et les rebelles, dont la résolution estoit de renfermer sa Maïesté en vn chasteau, sous bonne et seure garde, afin de s'attribuer toute l'autorité et l'entier gouvernement du Royaume."—*Blackwood*, 545.

Queen, a certain conspiracy got up between his Highness and the rebels, the object of which was to confine her Majesty in a castle, in good and safe keeping, and to take upon himself all authority, and the entire government of the kingdom."

He murders the unfortunate secretary, then breaks his engagements with the nobles, who owe him a fearful grudge for it.

"The people," writes Randolph, "hate him, because he has broken his oath to the conspirators."—Randolph to Cecil.—*Bishop Keith*, App., 167.

After the murder of Riccio, the nobles thought they had only to tell the Queen how it had happened, to ruin Darnley. Consequently,

"llegados pues de Inglaterra todos los amigos y confederados del conde de Morray, y conociendo que la Reyna mostrava alguna ira con su marido, procuraron que le repudiase, assi por su vida dissoluta, como por la muerte del secretario; de la qual ellos afirmavan, que el solo avia sido el autor, y que avia disfamado por el mundo a su Magestad, y con muchos falsos testimonios, que contra ella avia escrito con esta ocasion."—*Herrera*, 76.

"all the friends and allies of the Earl of Moray, coming from England and learning that the Queen showed displeasure towards her husband, entreated her to disown him, as much for his dissolute life as for the murder of the secretary, of which they asserted he was the sole author, and because he had defamed her Majesty in the eyes of the whole world, and with much false testimony that he had written against her on that occasion."

Another time, they proposed to her to throw Darnley into prison, and laid before her for signature a Warrant of execution. Deposition of Th. Crawford. *Miss Strickland*, III., 104. Mary, instead of hearkening to that perfidious language, forbade, under severe penalties, an ill word to be said of her husband.

"La Reyna no queriendo que su marido quedasse manchado de la muerte del secretario, con publico bando puso pena de la vida y rebelion a quien hablasse mal del, y dixesse que era complice en la muerte di David Rizo su secretario."—*Herrera*, 72.

"The Queen, not wishing that her husband should remain branded with the secretary's murder, issued a public order threatening with the penalty of death and forfeiture any one who should speak ill of him, or say that he had a hand in the murder of David Riccio, her secretary."

The nobles became more threatening: the wild conduct of the young King since he came into Scotland had raised in them no bright hopes; he had estranged from himself every heart; and, while still a private person, he wished to stab Lord Ruthven, who was telling him that the conferring of the title of Duke of Albany upon him was put off for a time.—(*Stevenson*, 139.)

"To all honest men," writes Randolph (21st May 1565) "he is intolerable, and almost forgetful of his duty to her already that hath adventured so much for his sake."—*Von Raumer*, 48.

Scarcely was he a King, when he shocked his father by his disdainful manners.

"The young King," writes Cecil, "is so insolent, as his father is weary of his government, and is departed from the Court." Cecil to Smith, 1st September 1565.—*Ellis*, II., ii., 303.

Such conduct gave rise to mistrust, and bred in the minds of the people a secret hatred which awaited only a fair time to come to light. Meanwhile, Mary supported her unworthy husband, and still put Darnley's name before her own in the public acts. (*Bishop Keith*, App., 130, 131.) Another affront was necessary to break the Queen's forbearance; it came, and Mary, with grief and shame, saw him, whom she had raised so high, openly wallowing in the mire of vice. (*Knox*, V., 352; *Bishop Keith*, 329; *Sanderson*, 47.) Public opinion demanded a separation between husband and wife. Mary, with rare discretion, managed to do her duty both as wife and Queen; she merely ceased to bring Darnley's name into affairs, and saw him less often; but she did not forsake him even in his most foolish strayings. About to become a mother, upon him, again, she bestows her first thoughts in her short will. She mentioned him first, and bequeathed to him a diamond ring; on the right of the description are seen these words half blotted out by tears—"Au roy qui me l'a donnée." (*Facsimile in Hosack*.)

Meanwhile the English party and the Queen's enemies spread reports hurtful to her. They said that she forsook him entirely, and would not see him more; also that she spoke ill of him.

I shall call the reader's attention to the following passage in Melville:

"It wes a paruersit tym, and the mair that the number of hir frendis increassit in England, the ma practyses hir enemys maid, and the monyer lyes the invented against her."—*Melville's Memoirs*, 170.

"The Queene," writes Randolph (3d August 1566) "and her husbände agree after thold maner or rather worse; she eateth but verie seldome with him, but lyeth not nor kepeth no company with him, nor loveth any suche as love him. He is so farre out of her bookes as at her going from the Castell of Edenboroughe to remove abrode he knewe nothing thereof. It cannot for modestie nor with the honour of a Queene be reported what she said of him."—*Stevenson*, 164.

That passage is very severe. It is expressly contradicted by a letter of du Croc, which relates a conversation with Darnley as follows:

"Il me dit, ce qu'il a fait souvent, qu'il vouloit retourner comme il estoit la première fois quand il fut marié. Je l'asseuré qu'il n'y retournera jamais; que s'il estoit bien, il s'y

"He said to me, as he has often done, that he wished to be again as he was at first, after his marriage. I assured him he should never be so, and told him that if he were comfort-

devoit tenir, et qu'il ne se trouvera point que la Roynie estant offensée en sa personne, que jamais elle luy doibve remettre l'auctorité qu'il avoit auparavant, et qu'il se doibt bien contenter de l'honneur et bonne chère qu'elle luy faict, le traictant et honorant comme le roy son mary et lui entretient fort bien sa maison de toutes choses." Du Croc à Catherine de Médicis.—*Toulet*, II., 290 ; *Prince Labanoff*, I., 376.

That letter is confirmed by the one which the members of the Privy Council wrote to Catherine de Médicis. They relate, in the following terms, the welcome which the Queen offered Darnley on his arrival in Edinburgh, whither, according to Bedford, he came in spite of her.

"The same evening, the King came to Edinburgh, but made some difficulty to enter into the palace, by reason that three or four Lords were at that time present with the Queen, and peremptorily insisted that they might be gone before he would condescend to come in ; which deportment appeared to be abundantly unreasonable, since they were three of the greatest Lords in the kingdom, and that those Kings who by their own birth were Sovereigns of the Realm, have never acted in that manner towards the nobility. The Queen, however, received this behaviour as decently as was possible, and condescended so far as to go to meet the King without the palace, and so conducted him into her own apartment, where he remained all night, and then her Majesty entered calmly with him upon the subject of his going abroad, that she might understand from himself the occasion of such a resolution. But he would by no means give it."—*Bishop Keith*, 348.

That passage is peculiar in this, that it mentions Mary's rare tenderness for her husband, and the wild idea that the latter had of leaving Scotland. The description which the French ambassador, an eye-witness, has left us of the interview betwixt Mary and Darnley, leaves no doubt that the Queen behaved in a most attentive manner to the poor madman. I give the passage :—

"Le Comte de Lenos escrivit à la Roynie qu'il avoyt trouvé le Roy en délibération de s'en aller et passer la mer, et que, pour ce faire, il avoyt ung navire tout prest ; qu'il ne l'avoit jamais sceu divertir. Il prioit sa Majesté de regarder d'y faire ce qu'elle pourra.

"La Roynie receut la lettre le jour de St Michel au matin, et le Roy arriva le soir à dix heures en nuict, et, estant Leurs Majestés ensemble, la Roynie lui parla de ce que contenoit ladite lettre, le pryant luy dire l'occasion de son allée, et si estoit qu'il se plainist d'elle. Il ne luy en voullut rien dire. Et, considerant la Roynie de combien importoit son voyage, feist fort sagement et fut bien advisée d'envoyer querir soudain tous les Seigneurs et autres de son Conseil, et aussi me manda. Estans tous

able, he ought to remain so ; that the Queen was offended, and not likely to entrust him again with the authority he had before, and that he ought to be quite satisfied with the honour and kindness that she shows him, treating him and honouring him as the King her husband, and keeping his house well supplied in all things."

"The Earl of Lennox wrote to the Queen that he had found the King thinking of going across the sea, and that, for the purpose, he had a ship quite ready. The Earl added that he was unable to shake his son's resolution, and begged her Majesty to see what she could do in the matter.

"The Queen received the letter on Michaelmas Day, in the morning, and the King arrived in the evening, at ten o'clock. When their Majesties were together, the Queen spoke to her husband about the contents of the said letter, asking him the reason for his going, and if he had reason to complain of her. He would give her no answer ; and, considering the importance of that voyage, the Queen did very wisely, and was well advised to send at

assemblez, l'évesque de Rosse, par le commandement de la Royne, proposa le voyage du Roy en sa présence; et le tesmoignage que la Royne en avoyt estoit une lettre que Monsieur le Comte de Lenos luy avoyt escripte, laquelle fust leue.

"La Royne feit une fort belle harangue, et après le pria et le persuada de toute sa puissance déclarer en la présence de tous si c'est occasion qu'elle luy ayt donnée? Et le pria, en l'honneur de Dieu et à jointes mains, ne l'espargner point. Aussi les Seigneurs luy dirent qu'ilz se voyeoient bien recevoir ung mauvais visage de luy et qu'ilz ne savoient s'ilz estoient cause de son allée. Ils le prièrent de leur dire en quoy ils l'ont offensé? De ma part, je dis que son voyage importoit de l'honneur de la Royne ou du Sien: que, s'il s'en alloit avec occasion, cela touchoit à la Royne; de s'en aller autrement, il ne luy pouvoit estre louable. Nous ne pouvions avecques beaucoup de propos tirer une résolution; à la fin il déclara que d'occasion il n'en avoyt point. La Royne dist qu'elle se contentoit, et aussi nous luy criasmes tous qu'elle se devoit contenter; et je dis, suivant ma charge que je tesmoignerois partout à la vérité de ce que j'aurois veu et que je verrois. Sy est que, en ce desespoir, sans occasion, comme il déclara, il s'en alla et dist adieu la Royne sans la baiser, l'assurant que Sa Majesté ne le verroit de longtemps. De ceste façon nous demeurasmes auprès de la Royne, votre belle-fille, qui fust fort bien consolée, et la priasmes continuer d'estre toujours sage et vertueuse, et de ne se attrister ny en ce s'ennuyer et que la vérité seroit bien connue partout."—*Teulet*, II., 291.

once for all her Lords and other members of her Council, I being called among the rest. When all were assembled, the Bishop of Rosse, at the Queen's command, mentioned in the King's presence his proposed journey, and that the proof of it, which the Queen had, was a letter the Earl of Lennox had written to her, the which was read.

"The Queen made a very fine speech, and then prayed and begged him with all her might to declare, in the presence of all, if she had given him any reason for so acting? and entreated him, for God's sake, and most earnestly, not to spare her. The Lords also told him that they noticed he looked upon them unfavourably, and that they did not know if they were the cause of his going. They begged him to state wherein they had offended him. For my part, I said his journey touched the Queen's honour and his own; that if he went away with good reason, it would cast a slur on the Queen; but that, if he went otherwise, it could not be praiseworthy in him. Despite many words, we could not get an answer: at last he declared that reason he had none. The Queen said she was satisfied, and we all told her that she ought to be satisfied; and I added, in accordance with my office, that I should everywhere bear witness to the truth of what I had seen and might see. Yet in despair, without reason as he declared, he went away, bidding the Queen farewell without kissing her, and assuring her Majesty that she should not see him again for a long time. In this manner we remained beside the Queen, your daughter-in-law, who was very much consoled, begging her to be always good and virtuous, to be neither sad nor vexed about the matter, and telling her that the truth should be known everywhere."

On the 15th of October the same ambassador said:

"I never saw her Majesty so much beloved, esteemed and honoured, nor so great a harmony amongst all her subjects as at present is, by her wise conduct, for I cannot perceive the smallest difference or division."—*Bishop Keith*, 346.

After that, what becomes of the filthy trash of the Berwick correspondence?

Mary is taken ill at Jedburgh: how does Darnley receive that news? He goes on hunting, without deigning to look near his dying wife. So careless is he about his wife, that the ambassador of France writes:

"Le Roy est à Glasco et n'est point venu icy. Si est ce qu'il a été adverty par quelqu'un

"The King is in Glasgow, and has not yet come here, though he was informed by some

et a eu du temps assez pour venir s'il eust voulu ; c'est une faute que je ne puis excuser." —*Bishop Keith*, App. 133, 135.

What reasons could he have for so behaving ?

"De tout ce qui a jamais peu venir à notre congnoissance, il n'a nulle occasion de se plaindre, ains au contraire de s'estimer l'ung des fortunez princes de la Chrestienté s'il recongnoissoit son bonheur et se sauroyt aider de la bonne fortune que Dieu luy a mis entre les mains ; encores que, par les lettres qu'il a comme dist est, depuis escrit à Sa Majesté, il touche deux pointz sur lesquelz il fonde ses dolléances : c'est que Sa Majesté ne lui donne l'auctorité et ne se donne pas si grand peine de l'avancer et de le faire honorer au pais comme elle a fait du commencement ; l'autre qu'il n'est suyvy de personne et que toute la noblesse a abandonné sa compagnie. A ces pointz, Sa Majesté a respondu qu'il ne faut point, si ainsi est, qu'il se preigne à elle, ains à luy mesmes, car du commencement elle luy a tant faict d'honneur qu'elle s'en est mal trouvée depuis, et que le credit, auquel elle l'a mis, a servi d'ombre à ceulx qui ont si grievement offensé Sa Majesté ; mais qu'elle lui a porte si grand respect que, encores que ceux qui ont perpétré le meurtre d'un sien fidel serviteur soient entrez en sa chambre soubz son adieu, l'ayant suiviz au dos, et l'ayant nommez chef de leur entreprise, si n'a elle voulu jamais l'accuser, ains l'a toujours excusé, et est contante de faire semblant de ne rien croire. Au demourant il ne tient qu'à luy s'il n'est bien suivi ; elle lui a offert, comme elle fait tousjours, ceux qui sont à ses gages. Quant à la noblesse, ilz se tiennent à la court et se rendent subjectz selon qu'ils ont des affaires et que l'on leur fait bon visage ; qu'il a mis si peu de peine à les gagner, et à se faire aymer d'eulx, mesmes ayant deffandu sa chambre à des Seigneurs que sa Majesté, du commencement avoit mis auprès de luy, que si la noblesse l'abandonne, ses déportemens envers eux en sont cause. S'il veult estre suivi, il fault qu'il se face premièrement aymer et pour ce faire, qu'il se rende amyable, autrement il sera trop mal aisé à Sa Majesté d'y donner ordre, principalement de les faire consentir qu'il ayt le maniement des affaires entre ses mains. A quoy ilz ne consentiront jamais, et (Sa Majesté) ne les trouve aucunement disposez d'y consentir par cy-après." —*Teulet*, II., 288.

one, and has had plenty of time to come if he had wished : it is a fault which I cannot excuse."

"From all we have been able to learn, he has no reason to complain, but ought, on the contrary, to think himself one of the most fortunate princes in Christendom, if he knew his happiness, and could take advantage of the good fortune that God has put in his hands ; yet, by letters which it is said he has since written to her Majesty, he mentions two points on which he founds his grievances : the one being that her Majesty does not allow him the same power, or take the same trouble to advance him and have him honoured in the country as she did at the beginning ; the other, that he is followed by no one, and that all the nobles have forsaken his company. To those points her Majesty replied that he must not, if such be the case, lay the blame upon her, but on himself, for at the beginning she did him so much honour, that she had since suffered for it, and that the high rank to which she had raised him served as an excuse to them who have so grievously offended her Majesty ; that she felt so much respect for him, that, although those who murdered one of her faithful servants entered her room while he was there to bid her good night, having come behind him and having named him the chief of their enterprise, yet she never would accuse him, but always excused him, and is pleased to pretend she believes nothing. Besides, it is his fault alone that he is not well followed : she offered him, as she always does, those in her service. As for the nobles, they frequent the Court and make themselves subjects according as their affairs require or as they are agreeably welcomed ; but he has taken so little trouble to win them over and gain their affections, even having forbidden his chamber to lords whom her Majesty, from the beginning, had placed near him, that if the nobles forsake him, his behaviour towards them is the cause. If he wishes to be followed, he must beforehand make himself be loved ; and to attain that end, he must be amiable, otherwise it will be too difficult for the Queen to see to it, especially to make them consent that he should have the management of affairs in his hands. To which they never consented, and (her Majesty) does not find them by any means disposed to consent to it hereafter."

MM. Mignet and Dargaud, the former the prince, and the latter the most worthless of historians, try to crush Mary Stuart, especially on the occasion of the baptism of James VI.

"L'humiliation ne pouvait être plus grande. Le roi était méprisé au milieu de la cour; le père n'avait pas de place au baptême de son fils."—*Mignet*.

"The humiliation could not be greater. The King was despised in the midst of the Court; the father had no place at the baptism of his son."

On the contrary, if the humiliation was great for any one, it was for the Queen to see her worthless husband behave in a manner so unbecoming on such an occasion.

"Il se fait de grands apprest pour le dit baptêmes," writes du Croc. . . . "Les seigneurs sont si bien reconcilliez ensemble avecques la Royne, par sa sage conduite que aujourd'huy je ne vois une seule division."—*Teulet*, II., 290.

"Great preparations are being made for the said baptism. . . . The lords are so thoroughly reconciled with the Queen, by her wise conduct, that I now hear not a single complaint."

Mary, who was anxious that the ceremony should be attended with great splendour, had written to the lords whom she could not see:—

"The baptisme of our dearest sone, the Prince, wilbe shortlie and that in the Streueling, quhairvnto the Ambassatours of the gretast Princes in Christandom will resort, and than it is maist neidfoull that we be honorabillie accompanyt, ye will here of the tyme and dyett; quhilk we pray you effectuuslie addres you to keip, apparellit in sic honest maner as the tyme and occasioun cravis, according to the estait of your hous; ffor ye will not agane in many yeiris have the like thyng in hand, and heirintill ye will do ws maist thankfull service and plesour."—*Gray's Papers*, app. X.

That letter, showing the care that Mary took to arrange the ceremony, makes Darnley's proceeding the more odious.

"Si la Reine et les dits Seigneurs," adds the French ambassador, "sont bien ensemble, le Roy son mary est bien aussi mal d'un coste et d'autre. Il n'en peust estre autrement de la fasson qu'il se gouverne, car il veult estre tout et commander partout; à la fin, il se mest en ung chemin pour n'estre rien. Je ne vois un seul seigneur qui le regarde que tant que la Royne veult."—*Teulet*, II., 290.

"If the Queen and the said lords are on good terms, the King, her husband, is on very bad terms with her and them. It cannot be otherwise from the manner in which he behaves, for he wishes to be everything and to command everywhere; in short, he is taking the best means to fail. I do not see a single lord look at him except when the Queen wishes it."

Long before the baptism, he threatened to keep away on account of that rivalry, and also because the Queen of England had ordered her ambassador not to salute him as King. (*Teulet*, *ibidem*; *Wright*, I., 607.) He kept his word, and du Croc, who saw the Queen the day after the ceremony, found her plunged in the most bitter grief. He said of Darnley on the subject:—

"His bad deportment is incurable, nor can there be ever any good expected from him, for several reasons, which I might tell you, was I present with you. I can't pretend to foretell how all may turn; but I will say that matters can't subsist long as they are, without being accom-

panied with sundry bad consequences. The Queen behaved herself admirably well all the time of the baptism; and shewed so much earnestness to entertain all the goodly company in the best manner, that this made her forget in a good measure her former ailments. But I am of the mind, however, that she will give us trouble as yet, nor can I be brought to think otherwise, so long as she continues to be so pensive and melancholy."—*Bishop Keith*, pref., vii.

The Spanish papers corroborate what the French documents affirm about the constant attachment of Mary to Darnley, an attachment which still lasted at the period we have now reached :—

"El Rey de Escocia ha ya veinte dias que esta con la Reyna, y comen juntos; y, aunque parece que no perderá tan presto del todo el disgusto del Rey per las cosas passadas, todavia piensa que el tiempo, y estar juntos, y el Rey determinado di complacerle hara mucho en la buena reconciliacion." Silva to Philip II., 18th Dec. 1566.—*Papiers de Simancas*.

"The King of Scotland has been for twenty days with the Queen, and they eat together; and although it seems as if the Queen would not soon lose the feeling of disgust which she has for the King on account of past events, people are inclined to believe that keeping his company, and his resolution to please her, will do much towards a reconciliation."

"El ambaxador que tiene aqui la de Escocia, dize que es verdad que aquel Rey muerto havia andado en platicas dañadas contra Dios y su muger pero que se estavan conformes, y que se veyá claro en la demostracion de amor que se hazian, tanto que el pueblo mostrava mucha alegria dello." Alava to Philip II., 6th March 1567.—*Papiers de Simancas*.

"The ambassador of Scotland in France says it is true that the late King had used blameworthy expressions against God and his wife, but that they were united, and that he was seen to be so given up to the love which they ostensibly bore to each other, that the people showed a great joy thereat."

That love of Mary for Darnley never belied itself for a moment, and seemed even to grow as time advanced. After the baptism, the King took ill. The partisans of Moray and the English clique accused the Queen of having poisoned him, and public opinion was settled on that point :—

"At which time K. Henrey wes layand seike in Glasgow of the small poks, bot some sayed he had gotten poysons."—*Birrel's Diary*, 6.

Although Glasgow was then a centre of contagion (Drury to Cecil, *Chalmers*, III., 109), the Queen, not wishing to go herself to that town, lest she should give the disease to her child, sent her physician at once to Darnley :—

"The Queen had sent her own physician to attend upon him." Bedford to Cecil.—*Chalmers*, III., 109.

She sent him during his illness :—

"frequenter et amabilissime scriptas literas."—*Buchanan*, *Hist.*, xviii.

"she sent him many and very lovingly-written letters."

He had scarcely recovered when Mary was told that he was again thinking of dethroning her. The Earl of Moray, informed of the project, advised the Queen to have the patient put under arrest; but

she would not. (*Miss Strickland*, III., 91.) She wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador in France :—

“ For the King our husband, God knawis alwayis our part towartis him, and his behaviour and thankfulnes to us is semblablement well knawin to God and the world, specialie our awin indifferent subjectis seis it, and in their hartis, we doubt not, condemnis the samyne. *Always we persave him occupeit and bissy aneuch to haif inquisition of our doyngis, quhilkis, God willing, sall ay be sic as nane sall haif occasioun to be offendit with thame, or to report of us any wayis bot honorably ; howsoever he, his father and thair fautoris speik, quhilkis we know want na gude to mak us haif ado, gif thair Power wer equivalent to thair myndis.* Bot God moderatis thair forces well aneuch, and takis the moyen of executioun of thair pretensis fra thame : for, as we believe, thay sall find nane, or verray few approveris of thair counsalis and devysis imaginis to our displesor or mislyking.”—*Bishop Keith*, pref., viii.

When he was able to bear the journey, Mary brought him back to Edinburgh with a care and tenderness quite maternal. As there were in the country no carriages suitable for removing the patient, she put at his disposal her own “charriott,” the only one in Scotland. It seemed so wonderful, that Birrel, usually so brief, has mentioned it in his journal, fo. 6.

In short, not long before his death, and on the bed to which he was confined, the young King wrote to the Earl of Lennox, his father, an affectionate letter in praise of the Queen.

“Hæc scribenti,” says Buchanan, “drepente Regina intervenit, ac literis perlectis crebro eum amplexa ac deosculata sibi supra modum gratam esse ostendit, quod jam perspicue intelligeret, nullam in ejus animo nubeculam suspicionis subsedissee.”—*Buchanan, Histor.*, xviii.

“As he was writing that, the Queen came in suddenly, and having read the letter, she embraced him several times, and showed him by her kisses that she was glad to see, beyond doubt, that he had not conceived any suspicion in his mind.”

The same author tells us that

“Regina quotidie regem invisebat.”—*Id. Ibia.* “The Queen every day visited the King.”

Although the Scottish historian attributes those frequent visits to insincerity, yet the fact remains, and, strengthened by other documents which never hint at hypocrisy, is favourable to the Queen.

From those texts I conclude that Mary Stuart always loved Darnley, that she never forsook him, even when her feelings were outraged by him, and that, despite all repugnance, she ever fulfilled her duties as a wife.

II.—HE WAS MURDERED BY HER ORDERS, AND SHE DID NOT SHOW THE SLIGHTEST GRIEF.

Before cutting into the quick of the question, I intend to make some remarks on the disposition of Mary Stuart, and give some particulars of the accusations against her.

First presumption in favour of Mary Stuart.

Sir Thomas Craig, who well knew Mary Stuart, as he was one of her Privy Councillors, said of her :

"I have often heard the most Serene Princess Mary, Queen of Scotland, discourse so appositely and rationally, in all affairs which were brought before the Privy Council, that she was admir'd by all ; and when most of the Counsellors were silent, being astonished, they straight declared themselves to be of her opinion ; she rebuked them sharply, and exhorted them to speak freely, as becomes unprejudiced Counsellors, against her opinion, that the best reasons only might over-rule their determinations ; and truly her reasonings were so strong and clear, that she could turn their hearts to what side she pleas'd. She had not studied law ; and yet, by the natural light of her judgement, when she reasoned of matters of Equity and justice, she oft times had the advantage of the ablest lawyers. Her other discourses and actions were suitable to her great judgement : no word ever dropped from her mouth that was not exactly weighed and pondered. As for her liberality and other virtues, they were well known." Craig's Answer. —*M'Kensie*, III., 353.

Herrera calls her

"muger di buena y santa intencion, bien nclinada, y que de su natural condicion era facil y credula." 51.

"a woman of good and holy aim, bent on doing good, but of a nature easy and credulous."

She was, says Melville, 146 :

"of hir awen nature, mair inclynit to mercy then rigour,"

and Brantôme driving out of the field those who would have it that Mary had had a hand in the murder of her husband, wrote :—

"ce sont abus et menteries, car jamais cette Reine ne fut cruelle ; elle estoit du tout bonne et très douce. Jamais en France elle ne fit cruauté, mesme elle n'a pris plaisir ny eu le cœur de voir deffaire les pauures criminels par justice, comme beaucoup de grandes que j'ay connu, et alors qu'elle estoit en sa galère, ne voulut jamais permettre que l'on battit le moins du monde un seul forçat, et en pria M. le Grand Prieur son oncle, et le commanda expressement au Comité, ayant une compassion extrême de leur misère, et le cœur lui en faisoit mal. Pour fin, jamais cruauté ne logea au cœur d'une si grande et douce beauté, mais ce sont este des imposteurs qui l'ont dit et escrit, entr'autres M. Buccanan."—*Brantôme, Discours sur Marie Stuart.*

"those are mistakes and falsehoods, for that Queen was never cruel ; she was throughout good and very gentle. She never did any cruelty in France ; far from feeling delighted, she had not the heart to see poor criminals run down by justice, as many great ladies whom I have known, and when she was on her galley, she never would allow a single convict to be in the least beaten. To that effect, she sent a request to the Grand Prior, her uncle, and express orders to the committee, having extreme compassion for their misery, and being grieved at heart for them. In short, cruelty never dwelt in the heart of so great and gentle a beauty ; but those who have said or written it are impostors, and among them Mr Buchanan."

Archbishop Spottiswoode calls her

"a Princess of many rare virtues, but crossed with all the crosses of fortune, which never any did bear with greater courage and magnanimity to the last."—II., 361.

And Camden :

"femina in religione sua constantissima, eximia in Deum pietate, invicta animi magnitudine, prudentia supra sexum, formæque venustissima."—494.

"a woman very constant in her faith, of remarkable piety towards God, of unconquerable nobleness of mind, of a prudence above her sex, and of ravishing beauty."

Lethington, in a letter to Cecil, 14th of November 1562, calls her

"a Princess so gentle and benign, and whose behaviour hath been always such towards all her subjects, and every one in particular, that wonder it is that any could be found so ungracious as once to think evil against her."—*Bishop Keith*, 232.

An act of the Secret Council, signed by the principal nobles, especially by Moray and Morton (4th December 1567), represents her as gifted with all virtues :

"many gude and excellent gifts and virtues quharewith God sometimes indowit hir.—*Goodall*, II., 63.

Leicester writing to Throckmorton, says that he had never heard Moray speak ill of Mary Stuart. Leicester to Throckmorton, 7th July 1567. (*MS. State Paper Office*.)

Before leaving for the continent, the same Moray made his will (2d April 1567), and appointed Mary "overishwoman," and brave Kirkaldy, testamentary executor, though after Darnley's murder. (*Registrum honor. de Morton*, I., 17.)

Mary's acts, examined coolly and calmly, do not belie the judgment passed upon her by her cotemporaries and the most thoughtful historians. Her correspondence gives one even a still higher opinion of her ; she is found everywhere compassionate to a fault.

And yet what a heaping-up of slander on her head ! Her face, however, still stands out after ages, beamingly radiant, but from the cruelties of her slanderers, furrowed with wrinkles.

Second presumption in favour of Mary Stuart.

She has been accused in turns of allowing Riccio to share her bed, of despising, forsaking and murdering her husband, of trying to poison her son, and of attempting to get Elizabeth assassinated ; a Prussian, indeed, with documents in hand, accused her, thirty years ago, of incest with her bastard brother, Moray. (*Von Raumer*, 93.) Such is the woman whose life I have written. I ask the reader who has gone through the History of Mary Stuart, studied her correspondence and analysed her acts, if it is possible that so august a woman could have committed so many crimes ? From that moral impossibility I draw my second presumption, and I say : enemies have delighted in perverting the facts and in inventing calumnies to blacken their victim ; there is no abomination which has not been attributed to her.

Third presumption in favour of Mary.

Had she an interest in killing her husband that she might marry Bothwell ? Mary's commissioners at York, said :

"Son mary n'estoit-il pas plus ieune, plus beau et plus agréable que Bodwel? Si elle eust este si lubrique et adonnée à ses plaisirs que ses ennemis disent, la vie de son mary lui eust plus serui pour l'effect de ses désirs que non pas sa mort. Car outre la iouissance de sa personne, belle au possible, elle eust eu la fréquentation de Bodwel à souhait, lequel il luy eust mieux vallu auoir pour amy que pour mary et qui se fust estimé trop heureux de servir une telle Dame; et quand elle l'eust ainsi voulu, personne ne l'en eust peu empescher, ayant l'entendement assez bon pour euer le soupçon et prendre ses esbats sans scandale."—*Blackwood*, 616.

"Was not her husband younger, handsomer, and more agreeable than Bothwell? Had she been so wanton and so given to her pleasures as her enemies say, the life of her husband would have been more useful to her for the satisfaction of her desires, than his death. For besides the enjoyment of his person, handsome beyond compare, she might, as often as she pleased, meet Bothwell, and to have him as a friend and not as a husband, would have been better for her, as he was one who would have deemed himself too happy to serve such a lady; and had she willed it so, no one could have hindered it, for she was clever enough to avoid suspicion and have her amorous enjoyments without scandal."

That reasoning is correct, and if Mary Stuart's enemies had given it a little more attention, they would not have said that she assassinated Darnley, to prostitute herself to Bothwell.

Supposing Mary did wish to get rid of Darnley, she might have prosecuted him as Riccio's murderer (*Jebb*, I., 461), and have obtained a divorce from him, divorce being, at that period, very common among English Princes (*Teulet*, II., 299). In short, let us carry things to excess, and, against all likelihood, admit that Mary wished to murder Darnley, surely the last plan to choose would have been to blow up a whole house. A dagger or poison would have been much quicker, and have had no noisy report. We learn from an English source, from Cecil himself, that there were thirty persons implicated in that unfortunate affair (Cecil to Morris, *Cabala*, 135). Is it at all likely that Mary should have mentioned her plan to so many persons? That said, I enter upon the facts.

On the 3d of June, 1565, Randolph writes to Cecil:

"People have small joy in this new master, and find nothing but that God must either send him a short end, or them a miserable life. The dangers to those he now hateth are great, and either he must be taken away or they find some support, that what he intendeth to others may fall upon himself."—*Bishop Keith*, 283.

and he asked

"what support may be expected if aught should be attempted, seeing the most part are persuaded that for this end, he (Darnley) was sent into this country."—*Miss Strickland*, II., 132.

On the 3d of July, he said:

"Hys (Darnley's) behaviour is suche that he is runne in open contempte of all men, even of those that were hys cheif freinds: whate shall become of hym, I knowe not, but yt is greatlie to be feared, that he cane have no longe lyfe amongst thys people."—*Bishop Keith*, 287.

On the next day, the 4th, he pointed out the growth of the conspiracy

against Darnley, on account of his insolence, and against the Queen who supported him.

"Worde was broughte her (Q. Mary) that the Earl of Argile and Earle of Murraye had assembled maynie of their frends and servantes and intended to tayke her and the Lord Darnlye rydinge betwene that towne and the Lord Liveston's howse, and to have caried the Queen's grace to St Andrews, and the Lord Darnlye to Castell-Camell."—*Bishop Keith*, 291.

Their scheme was to get rid of Darnley, and lock up the Queen at Lochleven :

"They covenanted to slay him and his father, and divers other noblemen, then about the Queen, and to make the Queen herself prisoner in Lochleven, for all the days of her life, and the Earl of Murray to have usurped the government."—*Goodall*, I., 66 ; *Blackwood*, 540.

On the 4th of September, the same Randolph again writes to Cecil :

"Several of the Lords are appointed to assassinate Darnley."—*Bishop Keith*, app., 164.

At the end of the same month, Castelnau writes from Scotland as follows :

"A ce que je puy veoir, les choses ne sont sur le point de finir avec doulœur ny appointement, car la Royne n'en veult point avec ses subjectz, pour ne pouvoir cy-après regner ne vivre en repos avec le Roy son mary, ayant comme dict Sa Majeste infiniz advertisemens qu'ilz les veuillent tuer tous deux, et tendent par tous moyens à se faire roys eulx-mesmes, chose qui luy est insupportable."—*Teulet*, II., 246, 251.

"From what I can see, matters are not going to end with gentleness or conciliation, for the Queen wishes none with her subjects, seeing that she could no longer, after that, reign or live at peace with the King, her husband, having, as Her Majesty says, innumerable warnings that they (the nobles) wish to kill them both, and strive, by all means, to become Kings themselves, a thing she cannot bear."

The project was not abandoned because it failed at Kirk-of-Beith. On the 9th of February 1566, Lethington wrote to Cecil that

"there was no certain way unless they *chopped at the root*."—*M^r Neel-Caird*, 48.

The nobles thought the murder of Riccio a clever stroke ; they wished thereby to make the King odious to the Queen and ruin them, the one by means of the other. The summer of 1566 is spent in that hateful over-excitement. In the month of October, Moray, Huntly, Argyll and Bothwell made advances to one another and drew up a bond "in signe," as they say, "of our reconciliation."—*Anderson*, IV., ii., 195 ; *Goodall*, II., 322.

One naturally wonders what could bring together those men so bitterly opposed to one another, as Moray was the sworn enemy of Huntly, whose family he had ruined, and of Bothwell whose exile he had caused, and who owed him a bitter grudge for it. As for Argyll, the thing is less surprising, as he, for a long time past, had been in the pay of England (*Tytler*, III., 65). One of the accomplices, Archibald Douglas, explains the

matter, saying it was a step towards the meeting at "Quhittingaime;" now, everybody knows that is where Darnley's death was settled. Knox was accused of having favoured the conspiracy.—*Goodall*, I., 208-211. The murder is now fixed, and the assassins await only the opportunity. They join together by a bond which

"contenit thir words, in effect 'that, forsamikle, it was thought expedient and maist profitable for the commonwealth, be the haill nobilitie, and lords underscryvand, that sic ane young fool, and proud tirane, sould not reigne nor beare rule over them; and that for divers causes, and theirfoir, that the haill had concludit that he sould be cut off, be ane way or uther, and whoso ever sould tak the deid in hand, or do it, they sould defend and fortifie as themselves.'"—*Arnot's App.*, 386.

At first they spoke of killing Darnley in the field; but the murderers gave up the idea lest they should be seen. (*Anderson*, II., 184.) They chose another place for the crime, and the abode of Kirk-of-Field, so hated since, was named to the Queen by Moray himself.

"Mourray remonstre à la Royne que besoin luy estoit de changer d'air, et que puis n'agueres le Seigneur de Borthuik s'estoit fort bien trouué de s'estre logé chez le Preuost de Kirk of field à Edimbourg, estant le lieu haut, plaisant et en bel air, enuironné de jardins et éloigné du bruit du meme peuple: et que au contraire le Palais Royal estoit situé en lieu bas, subiect au bruit, à cause de la suite de la cour."—*Blackwood*, 562.

"Moray points out to the Queen that a change of air is required, and that some time ago the Lord of Borthwick felt the better of having taken up his abode with the Provost of Kirk-of-Field in Edinburgh, it being a lofty place, cheerful and having good air, surrounded by gardens, and removed from the noise of the people; whereas the Royal Palace was situated in a low place, subject to noise, on account of the train and bustle of the Court."

During that time, Mary refuses the divorce proposed to her by the nobles, and becomes quite reconciled with Darnley. She takes him to Kirk-of-Field, where she lavishes upon him marks of the fondest love. To be nearer him she had an opening made between their two rooms. (*Anderson*, IV., ii., 166.)

"The King," says a chronicle of the time, "remained and lay in the Kirk-of-field, and divers tymes the Queen came to sie how he did, he being very sick."—*Pitcairn*, I., 479.

The report of the conspiracy soon reached the Court of France, and the Archbishop of Glasgow wrote to the Queen that it was being hatched:—

"Quelque grande conspiration contre sa vie, (celle) de son fils ou celle de son mary ou de tous trois, et dont on lui auoit donné certain et asseuré aduis à Marseille, sans toutefois luy pouuoir spécifier les auteurs d'icelle, ny la personne de celuy contre qui elle estoit dressée."—*Blackwood*, 564; *Bishop Keith*, viii.

"Some great conspiracy against her life, that of her son, or of her husband, or of all three, regarding which he had been given sure and safe information at Marseilles, though it had not been possible to specify to him its authors, or the person of him against whom it was got up."

When that letter reached Edinburgh, Darnley was no more; and the Queen could only regret that such precious information had reached her so late.

As the time of the disaster drew nigh, Moray left the Court, pretending that his wife was ill, and that flight, with what happened at a later period, gave good grounds for suspecting him.

"Hæc spurii ereptatio obtenta velo uxorii morbi, bonis præbuit materiem suspicandi male de illo."—*Jepp*, I., 403; *Herries*, 83.

"That retreat of the bastard, hidden under pretence of an illness of his wife, afforded honest people grounds to suspect badly of him."

Before his departure from Edinburgh, he dropped an imprudent word, which his enemies did not fail to cast into his teeth at a later period. Several defenders of Moray deny it; Lesley, Blackwood, Caussin and Belleforest affirm it: they differ only in the terms. According to Lesley, Moray said:

"This night ere morning the Lord Darnley shal lose his life."—*Lesley's Defence*, 75.

Blackwood (565) reproduces the sentence in all its brutality; Caussin (*Jepp*, I., 60) softens it, but upon the whole the sense is the same; and those authors agree in asserting that Lord Herries, in presence of several persons, reproached Moray with uttering it.

"Que si on veut nier cecy," writes Belleforest, "nous auons des preuves suffisans pour le vérifier; mesme le Baron Harris, *encore vivant*, le reprocha publiquement, en sa face et en pleine table, qu'il estoit des conspirants et consentans au dit meurtre."—*Jepp*, I., 471.

"That if one wishes to deny this, we have proofs enough to confirm it; even Baron Herries, who is *still alive*, told him publicly, to his face and at table, that he was one of the conspirators and consenting parties to the said murder."

Mackenzie (III., 282) calls attention to the fact that Lesley's work was published eleven years before the death of Buchanan, and that neither the latter nor any one of his party ever refuted it. That reflection carries with it great weight. Buchanan says nothing about that statement, but he relates a marvellous story which, being confirmatory, leads one to believe it.

"Jacobus Londinus homo Fifanus, honesto loco natus, cum febris diu laborasset, pridie quam Rex occideretur, circa meridiem, in lecto se paulum erexit, ac velut attonitus, magna voce obtestatus est præsentibus; Ut Regi opem ferrent: Jam enim parricidas eum invadere. Deinde, paulo post cum flebile questu exclamavit; Frustra opem feretis; jam trucidatus est: nec ipse diu post eam vocem supervixit."—*Buchan., Hist.*, xviii.

"James Lundie, an inhabitant of Fifeshire, a man of good family, and suffering for a long time from fever, on the day before the King's murder, at about mid-day, rose up a little on his bed and, as if seized with fright, entreated in a loud voice those who were present to help the King, for parricides were rushing on him. Then, shortly after, he cried in a plaintive voice: 'In vain will you bear him help; he is already massacred!' while he himself did not live long after uttering those words."

That story, skilful as it is, cannot deceive the reader: by that account, Buchanan clearly wished to explain the rumours current in Fifeshire on Moray's arrival. That explanation is worthless, because

the imagined fable is unlikely, and because of the attitude of Moray, who, instead of nursing his wife, was making preparations to wage a regular war. (*Chalmers*, III., 238.) That war was foreseen; for before Darnley's murder, Moray had written to Elizabeth, asking her for bows, arrows, and quivers. On the third day after the murder, Elizabeth signed an order to have them sent. (*Chalmers*, III., 238, note.) What is to be concluded from that? First, that Moray foresaw the murder; secondly, that the Queen had no hand in it. Moray's preparations cannot be otherwise explained.

Let us sum up the situation on the 9th of February: a conspiracy hatched for a long time past by Moray and his partisans; shortly before the murder they band themselves together by a bond, and prepare for resistance: on the Queen's side, attentions to Darnley, a refusal to divorce herself, and frequent and loving visits on the very evening of the murder. (See the text.)

Among Darnley's murderers are two of Riccio's assassins whom Mary refused to pardon, even at the baptism of her son: Andrew Ker of Faudonside, who had threatened her with his pistol, and George Douglas, who had stabbed Riccio under her very eyes. (Bedford to Cecil, 30th December 1566.—*State Paper Office*.)

After the murder, Moray and Morton are suspected:

"Scelere perpetrato, nuncii statim in Angliam dimissi qui divulgarent, Regem Scotorum a suis crudeliter fuisse trucidatum, opera maxime et consilio Comitum Moraviæ et Mortonii." *Buchanan*, xviii.

"The crime having been committed, messengers were at once sent to England, to make known that the King of Scotland had been cruelly massacred by his people, the aid and counsel of the Earls of Moray and Morton helping greatly thereto."

"Rumor illicò latè per Britanniam sparsus, crimen in Mortonium Morauum et confederatos contulit, illi imbelli sexui insultantes, in Reginam transtulerunt."—*Camden*, 110.

"The rumour, spread at once throughout Great Britain, laid the crime at the door of Morton, Moray and the confederates, who, insulting the weaker sex, threw it on the Queen."

Cecil was not to be foiled; on the 5th of March he informed Norris, in a somewhat ironical tone, that

"There do adhere together with the Earl of Lenox, the Earles of Argile, Morton, Athell, Murrey, Catness and Glencarne, who mean to be at Edenburgh very shortly, as they pretend, to search out the malefactors."—*Cabala*, 137.

The best informed people, far from accusing Mary, dreaded lest the fatal conspiracy, which had already overthrown Riccio and Darnley, might also reach her.

"It ys to be fearyd that thys tragedy woll end yn the Quenes person, after thys coronation of James VI.), as yt dyd begin yn the person of David the Italian and the Quenes husband." Throckmorton to Cecil, 26th July 1567.—*State Paper Office*.

Three weeks after the murder, when the placards were the common talk of Edinburgh, the English ambassador Killigrew dines with Moray, where he meets Huntly, Argyll, Bothwell and Lethington, the heads of the conspiracy. (Killigrew to Cecil. *Chalmers*, I., 324.)

So much for the murderers. Let us now look into Mary's conduct. Her enemies reproach her with—

First, *having left the body of her husband lying on the ground, in sight of the passers-by.*

Secondly, *having shown no sadness.*

Thirdly, *having had the body buried by the rabble.*

Fourthly, *having neglected an inquest.*

Fifthly, *having gone to divert herself with Bothwell at Seton.*

First, *She left the body of her husband lying on the ground, in sight of the passers-by.*

"Regis cadaver, cum diu spectaculo fuisset continuusque vulgi concursus eo fieret," etc.—*Buchanan*, xviii.

"As the body of the King had been long left to the gaze, and as the people thronged around it."

"The kingis persoun wes left liand in the zaird quhair it wes apprehendit the space of thre houris, na man anes preasing to carey the same away, quhil the Irascall people transportit it to a vile hous neir that rowme quhair befor he was ludgit quhair he remanit xlvij. houris as a gazing stok without ony cair takin of him saulffing certane . . . * purposelie sat to keip the entre That his corps suld not be sene be the multitude, fearing that they movit be the sicht suld haue bene induced suddanelie to mak vproare."—Book of Articles, *Hosack*, app. 538.

That lying assertion is refuted by cotemporary testimony. Melville says :

"When I past ther (Kirk-of-Field) to haue sean him, he was layed within a chamber and keped be ane Sandie Durem ; bot I could not get the sicht of him."—*Melville's Memoirs*, 174.

What Birrel says is still stronger :

"The 10 day of this moneth, the embassadors of France and Savoy came to the house quhair the K. wes lyand and requyred a sight of him, bot wes refusit thereof by the shouldiours."—7.

Secondly, *She showed no sadness.*

Melville says :

"I cam to the chamber dur (Mary's chamber) the nyxt mornnyng efter the mourther. The Erle Bodowell said that hir Maiestie was sorrowfull and quyet."—*Melville's Memoirs*, 174.

"La chose estant rapportée à ceste pauvre princesse," writes an eye-witness, "chün peult penser en quelle peine et agonie ou elle s'est trouvée, mesmes que telle malaventure est advenue au temps que Sa Ma^{te} et le roy estoient au meilleur mesnaige que l'on pouvoit desirer,

"This poor princess having been told of the thing, one may readily imagine the affliction and agony which she felt, especially as the sad event happened when her Majesty and the King were on the best terms that could be wished for ; so that the said S^{re} de Clernault

* Margin of MS. frayed. One word gone.

de sorte que le dict S^r de Clernault la laissee affligee autant que le peult estre une des plus mal fortunees roynes de ce monde." Déclaration de Clernault.—*Chalmers*, II., 445.

left her as grieved as can be, one of the most unfortunate Queens in this world."

A month after, 8th of March, Killigrew wrote to Cecil :—

"I found the Queen's Majesty in a dark chamber so as I could not see her face ; but by her word, she seemed very doleful."—*Chalmers*, I., 324.

"Son espousée le ploura, plaingnit et regretta ainsi que la femme loyale doit user à l'endroit de sa partie, et fut un longtemps (sauf la grace des calomnieurs) se tenant tellement enfermée, que les seules chandelles luy seruoient pour lumière, sans user de la clarte du soleil par quelque espace de temps."—*Belleforest*, *Jebb*, I., 531.

"His wife lamented, bewailed and regretted him as a faithful wife ought to mourn her husband, and for a long time (with all due deference to slanderers) used candles alone for light, as she shut out the light of the sun for some time."

The defenders of Mary, carrying the apostrophe even to bad taste, said to Moray's partisans at the time of the York conferences :—

"Vous vous mocquiez d'elle quand elle estoit renfermée dans vne chambre avec des flambeaux, habillé de noir (car c'est chose contraire à vostre religion) et maintenant, vous l'accusez de ne l'auoir esté assez long-temps, et de là prenez argument qu'elle a tué son mary. Vos femmes font elles vn tel dueil après le decez de leurs maris qu'elle a fait du sien ? Vos mères l'ont-elles fait de vos peres ? Vous sçavez bien que non. Et quand elle n'auoit rien fait dutout, ce ne seroit pas chose qui deust estre à blâmer en Escosse, où ceste ceremonie este toute nouuelle. Vous ne sçauriez citer une Royne d'Escosse, qui en aye vsé autrement qu'à sa discretion et volonté. Il ne faut pas mesurer ceste Royne au pied des autres, qui n'estoient plus rien après la mort de leurs maris, que doüarieres. Ceste-cy ne tenoit rien de son mary, qui au contaaire n'auoit rien, sinon ce qu'il tenoit d'elle. Pour conclusion de cet article, si en son ame elle se fust iugée coupable de la mort de son mary, elle auoit l'entendement assez bon pour deguiser sa faute par des funerailles exquisés et magnifiques, avec cris et autres chimagrées dont on se sert ordinairement, pour se garètir des soupçons de telles actions. Ceste objection ne méritoit point de responce, tant elle est friuole."—*Blackwood*, 610.

"You laughed at her when she was shut up in a room with torches, and clad in mourning (for it is a thing contrary to your religion) and now you accuse her of not having been so long enough, and thence draw the inference that she killed her husband. Do your women grieve for their husbands after their death as much as she has done for hers ? Have your mothers done so for your fathers ? You well know they have not. And though she had not wept at all, it would not be blameworthy in Scotland, where the ceremony is quite new. You could not mention a Queen of Scotland who has acted under such circumstances, otherwise than at her own discretion and will. You must not measure this Queen by the standard of others, who, after the death of their husbands, were only dowagers. This one derived nothing from her husband, who, on the contrary, had nothing, save what he held from her. To conclude this article, if in her soul she had judged herself guilty of the death of her husband, she was clever enough to disguise her fault by exquisite and magnificent obsequies, and with lamentations and shows of grief usual on such occasions, to shield one's self from being suspected of such actions. That objection does not deserve an answer, so frivolous is it."

Thirdly, *She had him buried by the rabble.*

"Sed illa, per bajulos de nocte, sine ullo funeris honore, sepeliendum curat, et (quod indignitatem vehementius auxit) prope Davidis

"But the latter (the Queen) has him buried during the night by the rabble, without any funeral honour, and (what increased the

Rizii sepulchrum, ac si hominis foedissimimani-
bus mariti morte parentaret."—*Buchanan*,
xviii.

indignation the more) beside the grave of
David Riccio, as if she were by the death of
her husband, making an offering to the Manes
of the vilest of men."

"She causit the same (body) be brocht fra the kirk-of-field to the said chapell of halyrude-
hous be certane soldiours pynouris, and utheris vile personis, vpoun an auld blok of forme of
tre. And eftir that the corps had lyne certane dayis in the chapell, quhair alsua she beheld it,
The same corps without ony ordour, wes cast in the erth on the nycht without ony ceremony
or cumpany of honest men."—Book of Articles, *Hosack*, 539.

Nothing is wanting to make the picture hideous, but fortunately for
Mary, all those particulars are false. She, on the contrary, took the
greatest care of her husband's body, had it embalmed, kept it lying in
state for several days, and with the fervour of religion, paid it the last
sad honours. On the 12th of February 1567, the Earl of Huntly wrote
to Robert Richardson, treasurer, to pay £40 for the embalming of the
King :—

"My lord thesaurar,—Forsamekle as the Quenis Majestie and Counsell has direckitt ane
pottinger and schirurgens to caus perfume the Kingis body, and in respect that ther is syndri-
thingis requirit to the samyn quhilkis they had nocht, heirfore, the Quenis Majestie hes ordanit
me to advertis you that ye caus delyver fourte pundis for performance of sik necessars, as
appertenis thairtill, quhilkis salbe allouit to you, and delyver the same to the pottinger, and take
his writing thairon, and for my awin part, I vold pray you effectusly that the said soume war
perfurnist with diligence and deliverit in all haist, in respect the same Rynis to the Quenis
Majesteis honour and the hale cuntrey, at the palyce at halirudhous, the xij of februar 1566."

Your w. guid Freind,

HUNTLYE.

To that command is added the following note :—

"Je, Martin Picauet, appo^{re} de la Roynie
de Scosse, douairière de France, confesse
avoir Receu de Mr Robert Richardson,
tresorier des finances de la diste dame, la
soume de quatre vintz liures Tourn. pour la
fourniture des drogues pour l'embaumement de
Roy, de la quelle soume prometiz en tenir
compt au dist trésorier et à tous aultres.
Tesmointz, mon seing manuel cy mis le xije
jour de Februrier mil cinq cent soixante six,
auant Pasques."—E. PICAUET. (*Register
House, Edinburgh.*)

"I, Martin Picauet, appo^{re} of the Queen of
Scots, dowager of France, acknowledge having
received from Mr Robert Richardson, treasurer
of the finances of the said lady, the sum of
eighty pounds Tournois, for supplying the
drugs for the embalming of the King, in the
which sum I promise to credit the said
treasurer and all others. Witness my sign
manual here affixed the 12th day of February,
one thousand five hundred and sixty six,
before Easter."

"Les tesmoins sont en grand nombre et
iceux en vie qui maintiennent et maintiendront,
comme ils l'ont veu par effect que le Seigneur
D'Arley fut, estant mort, embaumé et enciré
honorablement et que son corps fut porté au
tombeau commun et ancien des Roys d'Escosse,
et mis auprès du feu Roy Iaques dernier
décédé et père de la Roynie Marie aussi
et que le corps fut accompagné avec pompe

"There are many witnesses alive, who, as
they saw it carried into effect, assert and will
assert, that the Lord Darnley was, after death,
honourably embalmed and *enciré*, and that his
body was carried to the common and ancient
burial place of the Kings of Scotland, and laid
beside the late King James, last deceased, and
father of Queen Mary also and that the
body was accompanied with pomp (according

(suyuant les cérémonies de l'eglise) par le preuost d'hostel, et plusieurs autres Seigneurs et gentilshommes qui luy feirent (par le commandement de la Royne) ce dernier seruice. Bien est vray que les ceremonies n'y furent telles, que iadis on faisoit aux autres Princes Escossois, à cause que les Seigneurs du Conseil ne se souciaient autrement des funerailles (pour estre Protestants et Huguenots) n'en tindrent aucun compte, qu'ilz ont fait de leurs parents, lesquels ils ont enterrez sans aucune ceremonie ou honneur de sepulture accoustumée entre les anciens, et tant reuerée par les Chrestiens. Ains n'y eut que les seruiteurs de la Royne, qui feissent honneur au corps du deffunct pource que ses rebelles mesme ne voulurent permettre qu'aultres y assistassent." —Belleforest, *Jeub*, I., 529.

to the ceremonies of the church) by the major-domo and several other lords and gentlemen, who (in obedience to the Queen's commands) paid him that last honour. It is very true that the ceremonies were not such as were formerly performed at the burial of Scottish Princes, because the Lords of Council being indifferent to the obsequies (as Protestants and Huguenots) thought nothing about them, just as they did with their own relatives, whom they buried without any of the ceremonials or honours usual among the ancients, and so much revered by the Christians. So, only the Queen's servants did honour to the body of the deceased, because her rebellious subjects would not allow others to be present."

Lesley, in his "Defence of Q. Mary's Honour," says just the same thing.—23.

As regards the odious charge of having laid Darnley beside Riccio, Buchanan is its only supporter. Yet, such an affront would have been noticed. Balfour, though favourable to Moray, merely says:—

"his corpes the nixt day, without aney funerall solemnity, wer interit in the Abbey Church of Holyrudhousse."—*Annales*, I., 336.

Neither the latter author nor Marioreybanks, who mentions the burials of Riccio and Darnley, hints that the two graves were next each other; they say, on the contrary, that they were not buried in the same place (*Balfour*, I., 334, 336; *Marioreybanks*, 18, 19). Birrel, in his "Diarey," says nothing of it either. The author of the "Diurnal," who laments the death of Darnley, far from alluding to that "quod indignitatem vehementius auxit," from the pamphlet of Buchanan, points out the contrary:—

"Vpoun the fourtene day of Februar foirsaid, the corpis of the said vmquhile Henrie King of Scottis and spous to our Souerane ladie wes buriyt in Holyrudhous, besyid King James the fyft, in his sepulture, quietlie.—*Diurnal*, 106.

Nor was the burial performed in the mysterious manner which some allege. Lord Traquair, Darnley's relative, the Justice-Clerk, Sir John Bellenden, James Stuart of Ochiltree, Captain of the Guards and many other gentlemen were present. (*Lesley's Defence*, 23; *Miss Strickland*, III., 194.)

Fourthly, *She neglected an inquest.*

"The oversicht and neglecting of triall and Inquisitioun for his murther movit the commoun people to affix placardis."—Book of Articles, *Hosack*, 539.

That assertion is belied by the facts, for on the day after the murder, 11th of February, Barbara Martine, Meg Crokat, and John Petcarne were examined,

"In presence of the erlis of hun(tly), Ergile, Cassillis, Cathnes, Suthirland, Bishoppis Galloway, Ross."—*Register House, Edinburgh, Hopetoun MS.*

On the same day, Mary Stuart and the members of the Privy Council wrote as follows :

"We doubt not bot according to the diligence oure Counsal *hes begun alreddie to use*, the certainty of all salbe usit shortly." Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow.—*Bishop Keith and Prince Labanoff.*

"We are after the inquest and make no doubt soon to come to the knowledge of the persons by whom it was perpetrated."—*Laing's App.*

On the second day after the murder,

"On the 12th of February, a Proclamation was emitted by the Privy-Council, promising besides other things a Reward of £2000 to any person that should first reveal the Devisers, Counsellors, or actual Committers of the King's murder ; as likewise a Pardon of the Crime, altho' he were participant and culpable thereof."—*Bishop Keith, 368.*

It is certain then that Mary was entirely taken up in seeking for the murderers when Lennox wrote to her to make an inquest. (*Bishop Keith, 370.*) The placards posted at the corners of the streets named sometimes one murderer, sometimes another. Lennox asked the Queen to imprison all those mentioned in those anonymous sheets. The request was outrageous. Yet, according to the English ambassador, the Queen had him answered,

"that if he, or any, will stand to the accusation of any of them, it shall be done ; but not by vertue of the bill (placard), or his request." Killigrew to Cecil.—*Chalmers, I., 325.*

Fifthly, *She went, in company with Bothwell, to divert herself at Seton.*

"She postis to Setounis Hous with a verray few, and thay not all of the saddest company. Thair Bothwell thocht it semit that for the greit Fauour he then had in Court, and for the Nobilitie of his Birth, and uther Respectis of Honour, he suld haue bene nixt efter the Quene maist honourabilly ressaut, zit was ludgeit in ane chalmer hard be the Kitchin. Howbeit, the same was ane Place not altogidder unfit to asswage thair sorrowis for it was directly under the Quenis Chalmer : and gif ony suddane quhelme of Greif suld haue happinnit to cum ouer hir Hart, yair was ane Stair, thocht sumthing narrow, zit wyde aneuch for Bothwell to get up to comfort hir."—*Detection, 29.*

"Celebrabatur autem locus magna Nobilitatis frequentia : et ipsa (Maria) quotidie in campum propinquum ad lusus consuetos, nec eos plane muliebres, prodibat."—*Buchan., Hist., xviii.*

"This place was frequented by a great crowd of the nobles ; and she (the Queen) went every day into a neighbouring field, to play at the games of the time, which were not quite suitable for ladies."

Lesley, in his Defence, asserts that it was

"by the vehement Exhortations and Perswasions of her Counsaile, who were moued therto by her physitions Informations, declaring to them the great and imminent Dangers of her Health

and Life, if she did not in al spede breake up and leaue that kind of close and solitarie Life, and repaire to some good open and holsome Air."—*Defence*, 25.

Robert Melville gave to Cecil that reason alone for Mary's journey to Seton. (Robert Melville to Cecil, 26th February 1567.)

Evil-minded people did not fail to jeer. It was reported to Drury that the Queen shot for dinners at Tranent; the statement turned out to be false, and the English Argus had to correct his notes, and say :

"he had been misinformed in regard to the Scottish Queen's proceedings, as she had never stirred from Seton."—*Miss Strickland*, III., 205.

Another misfortune for the slanderers is that Bothwell, whom they represent as the Lothario of the visit to Seton, quietly stayed at Holyrood with his brother-in-law.

"Vpoun the sextene day of the said moneth of Februar, our Souerane ladie past fra Halyrudhous to Seytoun, and left the erlis of Huntlie and Bothwill in the palice of Halyrudhous, to keip the prince vnto hir returning."—*Diurnal of Occur.*, 106.

The author of Moray's Diary gravely compromised himself when he said :

"21 February, thay past togydder to Seyton."—*Anderson*, II., 273.

It was neither on the 21st, nor *together*, that the journey to Seton took place; Drury gives Cecil the 16th as the date of the departure. Therefore, we have calumny throughout.

The historic figure of Queen Mary, on the contrary, is ever noble. At the very time that she is represented carrying on mad gallantries at Seton, she is thinking of her husband. Scarcely returned, she has, at the risk of bringing down upon her head the Presbyterian wrath, a requiem sung in her Chapel Royal for the soul of the unfortunate Darnley (*Birrel*, 7); and we learn from Drury that on Good Friday she remained in her Chapel, with only two ladies, from the evening till three in the morning. (Drury to Cecil, 29th March. *Border Corresp.*) I ask the reader if a woman who prays thus for her husband could be guilty of having him murdered?

Archibald Douglas, who had his share in the meeting at Wittingham, points out on whom the accusation ought to fall. Charged by Morton to go and ask Bothwell for a writing signed by the Queen, in token of her consent to the murder of her husband, he received the following answer :

"Shaw to the Earl of Morton that the Queen will hear no speech of that matter appointed unto him." Arch. Douglas to the Q. of Scots.—*Robertson's app.*

Was it the question of the divorce or of the murder? Douglas

suspected the murder ; and Mary perhaps never heard of this message, or that her name had been mentioned at such a meeting.

Morton, at the hour of his death, declared that he refused to sign anything without seeing a document from the hand of the Queen. Bothwell promised to satisfy him, but, adds Morton :

"the quhilk warrant he never reported vnto me . . . and thairfor seing the earl of Bothwell neuer reported ony warrant of the Queine, I medlit neuer farther with it." Morton's Confession. —*Bannatyne Memor.*

From all those texts, I conclude that Mary was not a woman to kill her husband ; that she had no interest in doing so ; that she never wished to be separated from him ; that the nobles, on the contrary, had long plotted his death ; that their conduct at the murder was equivocal ; that the murderers were their friends, but the Queen's enemies ; that they were accused by public rumour, while the same voice declared the Queen innocent ; in short, that to clear themselves they had recourse to slander, altering dates, and misrepresenting facts ; and that they alone are guilty.

III.—SHE HAS AGAINST HER :

1st. *Her letters to Bothwell.*

A very difficult question, and one which requires on the part of the reader the greatest attention.

Presumptions against the letters.

First, Minds were long made up to blacken the good name of the victim. After the battle of Langside, John Wood encourages Thomas Crawford

"by all possible methods to search for more matters against her."—*Hosack*, 195.

"The Earl of Murray tooke much pains both by letters and messingers to clear himselfe at the Court of England, and laye the crime upon the Queen. The Queen of England herselfe was soone satisfied, although the Court and generalitie could hardlie be perswaded otherwayes." —*Herries*, 85.

"All thyngs consydered," writes Sir F. Knollys, "I see not howe byr Majestie can with honor and safetie detayne this Queen, unless she shall be utterlye disgraced to the world and that contrarie partie be thorolie mayntayned."—*Goodall*, II., 161.

Cecil wrote in 1571 to the ambassador of England in France :

"How were it not amiss to have divers of Buchanan's little Latin books, to present, if need were, to the King, as from yourself, and likewise to some of the other noblemen of his Council ; for they will serve to good effect to disgrace her, which must be done, before other purposes can be attained."—*Goodall*, I., 25.

Those various passages, together with the letter which Elizabeth wrote to Moray, on the 20th of September 1568, that she would never restore the Queen of Scots to her kingdom,

"whether she be found guilty or not of the horrible murder of her husband." Elizabeth to Moray, 20th Sept.—*State Paper Office*.

and that of Sussex to Cecil, 22d of October, of the same year,

"I think surely no end can be made good for England except the person of the Scotch Queen be detained by one means or other, in England."—*Lodge*, I., 458.

show that there was a settled purpose to defame Mary. Buchanan's pamphlets were sown broadcast, while those who gave away Lesley's "Defence" were put into prison. (*J. Lesley, Diary, Bannatyne Club Miscel.*, III., 117, 118.)

2d. Presumption.

If Bothwell had had such letters in his possession, he would not have failed to show them at the tavern of Ainslie, so as to get the signatures of the nobles, instead of promising another statement which he never could bring forward. He would also have taken them with him in his flight, since he took to Norway papers infinitely less precious than those, and he not only did not take them with him, but he never alluded to them.

If it be said that those papers were overlooked by Bothwell, as of little importance, it must be confessed, at least, that they were of the greatest importance for Mary. How is it possible after that, to admit that she left them lying about in a small box?

3d. Presumption.

Moray's party circulated among the public a great number of false documents. Some days after the battle of Carberry-hill, the nobles showed Kirkaldy, to quiet him, a letter from the Queen to the Earl of Bothwell :

"promysing amang many vther fair and comfortable wordis, neuer till abandoun nor forzet him."—*Melville's Memoirs*, 186.

And Melville assures that

"it had stopped his mouth."—*Melville's Memoirs*, 186 ; *Bishop Keith*, 403.

Lesley says :

"Thay committed sic heynous crymes, gif ane conterfute lettre be sufficient to saif thame mantene thair cause and conquers to thame ane kingdome."—*J. Lesley's presented Letter, from a "Journal of Affairs," MS., University of Edinburgh*.

That letter was so great a farce, that the authors, ashamed of their gross fraud, allowed it to be forgotten. No one, except Kirkaldy, ever saw it. The moment was badly chosen; it was not at the time of that crisis, or on that frightful night spent at the Tolbooth, that Mary could write a letter; the very materials could not be had.

At the York conferences Moray had handed to the English Commissioners,

"the said Queenis Consent gevin to the Lordis to subscribe the band for the promotioun of the said James, Erle Bothville, to hir Marriage."—*Goodall*, II., 87; *Chalmers*, I., 386.

The commissioners speak thus of the document:

"They procured a warrant, which was now shewed unto us, bearing date the 19th of Aprill, signed with the Quene's hand, whereby she gave them licence to agree to the same, affirming that, before they had such warrant, there was none of them that did, or wolde set to their hands, saving onlie the Earl of Huntley."—*Goodall*, II., 140.

That warrant is so much the more surprising as those who signed the bond never saw it. (*Morton's Confession in Bannat. Memor.*, 318.) It likely did not seem of much value to the accusers and judges, for save the above secret communication, it was never again mentioned either at Westminster or Hampton Court.—*Goodall*, II., 235, 257.

"This must have been," says Mr Glassford Bell, humorously, "a very curious and interesting warrant, and it is somewhat surprising that it had never been heard of before."—*Life of Q. Mary*, II., 296.

It may be said in defence that the documents handed in have been authenticated. Alas! even that authentication is worthless. In the "Registrum honoris de Morton," 26, is found an act in which it is said, "Sanctissimo Christi invocato nomine, amen," that the Queen wishing to abdicate,

"the nobilitie and certane vtheris estatis of the realme war past to Striuling according to hir hienes said commandiment to croun the prince and invest hym of the Kingdome." . . .

And the Queen affirmed:

"the lettres quhilkis sche subscrivit to the effect above writtin to be of propir motive quhilkis she now as of before the subscription thereof ratifiit and appreivit. In respect therof the said Williame (Douglas of Lochleven) protestit that hir Maiestie suld not be comptit heireftir as captive, or in person, &c."—No. 27, 26. (Signed) JOANNES FEYRNE, *Notarius publicus*.

That is a document authenticated in due form, and one might have grounds to attach much importance to it had not the facts transpired, and clearly proved that it was only a cheat.—*Chalmers*, I., 386.

What happened on the 24th of March 1571 is still better. Elizabeth, in concert with Lennox, had asked King Frederick for Bothwell's extradition. The King's reply, sent by Thomas Buchanan

to the Earl of Lennox, fell into the hands of Morton. The latter, without further ado, unseals it, keeps it for a month, alters it at leisure, and then sends it on, mutilated, to its destination. Morton himself told the fact thus :

"We ressavit a lettre, written furth of Denmark be Mr Thomas Buchannane to zour Grace, of the dait of the xx of Januar ; and because we jugeit that sum thingis mycht be specifyt thairin quhilk wer expedient to be rememberit upon heir, we tuke the baldnes to opin and reid the lettre ; quhilk it may pleis zour Grace presentlie ressave."

"The cause quhy it hes bene sa lang in sending wes, that we thocht not best to commit it to the through-post, or a commoun messinger ; for that we haid na will the contents of the same suld be knawin, fearing that sum wordis and matteris mentioned in the same, being dispersit heir as novellis, suld rather have hinderit nor furtherit our cause. And thairfoir, being desirit at Court to shaw the lettre, we gave to understand that we had sent the principal away ; and deliverit a copie omittand sic thingis as we thocht not meit to be shawin, as zour Grace may perceave be the like copy, quhilk also we have sent zou herewith ; quhilk ze may communicat to sic as zour Grace thinkis expedient to communicat the haill contentis of the principal lettre vnto."—*Goodall*, II., 382.

The bearing of that document will escape no one ; nothing needs be added.

Origin and Examination of the Letters.

According to the enemies of Queen Mary, Bothwell sent his servant Dalglish to Edinburgh Castle to fetch a box containing tender letters which the Queen had written to him. Balfour hands them over to Dalglish, but at same time lets the lords know of what is going on : the road to be taken by Bothwell's servant is watched, the box seized, and the bearer thrown into prison. Moray's Diary gives, under date of the 20th of June,

"Dalgleshe chalmer-child to my lord Bothwell wes takin and the box and letters quhilk he brought out of the Castell."—*Anderson*, II.

People may wonder why Bothwell should have kept letters which compromised himself. To that question the adversaries reply :—

"On se rend facilement compte du sentiment qui déterminâ Bothwell à ne pas détruire des lettres qui établissaient entre lui et Marie Stuart une solidarité complète, et qui pouvaient devenir entre ses mains une arme terrible contre les inconstances possibles de la Reine."—*Teulet, Lettres de Marie Stuart*, IV.

"One easily understands the feeling which led Bothwell to keep letters which established betwixt him and Mary Stuart a binding understanding, and which might become, in his hands, a terrible weapon against the possible inconstancies of the Queen."

Supposing that reason to have existed for a time, it is quite evident that Bothwell, once in possession of the Queen, ought to have destroyed those unlucky autographs. He had as much interest at stake as the

Queen, in doing away with them, for they contained the written proof of his participation in the King's murder.

One wonders how it happens that only compromising letters were found in the box. Did Bothwell then receive no other kind in his life? Lord Herries says on that subject:—

“Within (the box) was papers, which the confederats averred contained clear instructions that the Queen was author of her husband's murther, under her owen hand, by letters to Bothwell. But the Queen and her pairtie maintained the contrarie and said that these were but conterfitted by the confederat Lords; for in the box were all those letters and papers drawn betwixt Bothwell, Murray, and Mortoune, that discovered them to be the plotters. Which letters Bothwell reserved, for his owen securitie, to keep them to be his friends. Bothwell seeing . . . his box taken wherein the letters that past betwixt Murray and him was intercepted, which he still reserved for his secret and surest protection, as was said, he lost couradge and put himself to sea.”—*Herries' Memoirs*, 96.

That explanation, singular though it be, is, however, confirmed by the English correspondence of the time.

“I will say,” writes Randolph, 15th October, “that the universal bruit cometh upon three or four persons, which subscribed into a band, promising to concur and assist each other in doing the same. This band was kept in the Castle, in a little coffer or desk covered with green, and after the apprehension of the Scottish Queen at Carberry Hill, was taken out of the place where it lay by the Laird of Liddington, in presence of Mr James Balfour.”—*Tytler, Hosack, and M'Neel-Caird*.

Walsingham, 3d of February 1580 (*Caird*, 157), and Randolph, 16th of March (*Tytler*, IV., 323), speak also of that green box, as well as of the bond contained therein; and we learn from Drury that the precious document

“which did comprehend the names and consents of the chief for the murdering of the King is turned into ashes.”—*Tytler and M'Neel-Caird*.

The coincidence is indeed most striking.

One wonders how Bothwell could send Dalgleish, well known in Edinburgh as his servant, at a time when the town was held by the rival triumphant faction. Was it not risking his servant's life? Was it not revealing, by those letters, a treasure which otherwise would perhaps have remained unknown?

Then, again, the part played by Balfour is unlikely—nay, more, ridiculous and absurd. Can it be admitted that he, having made that discovery, should give the casket to Dalgleish, when Balfour himself had betrayed Bothwell, and gone over to the opposite party? that discovery excused and justified his treachery, treachery, a name ever odious, even among the wicked? He no doubt would have mentioned it to the lords. The adversaries say that he handed the casket to Dalgleish, but that, under hand, he had the nobles warned. This was very far from

being a swift or sure means : for that, it was necessary to detain Dalgleish until the lords were told of it, and had taken up their positions on the road ; it was necessary to be certain that Dalgleish would not destroy those documents, &c., before he should be taken. In good faith, would a man such as Balfour, himself accused of the King's murder, (*Cabala*, 136), have thus risked such documents ? And why have them taken by others who were not more than he in a government fallen the day before, and not yet re-established ?

Things go on more simply, and it seems that not one of those difficulties was foreseen : Dalgleish goes through the town, enters the Castle, returns scatheless, and the indifferent nobles do not at once show to the people, still burning with love for Mary, those detestable letters.

Despite its importance, the taking of Dalgleish passed unnoticed. Neither du Croc nor Drury, so eager for news, speaks of the finding. The author of the "Diurnal" says nothing about Dalgleish. Birrel does not speak of his arrest ; he does nothing but wordily mention that he was hanged and quartered with Hepburn and Powrie, without saying a word about the casket. Melville, whom many look upon as a model of truthfulness in his accounts, has him taken, with the Laird of Tallow, in the Shetland Isles (186). No cotemporary author tells us how or where Dalgleish was arrested, so much was the matter talked about ! Nay more : in the examination which he underwent on the 26th of June there was no mention made of the letters found ; and just before his death, warned, no doubt, of what was being said in town,

"il jura publiquement sur la damnation de son âme, que jamais il n'auoit veu ces lettres et qu'onque il ne porta, ni fut quérir le coffret dont il est question."—*Belleforest*, I., 526.

"he swore publicly, on the damnation of his soul, that he had never seen those letters, and that he had never carried or gone to fetch the coffer in question."

Those considerations acquire a certain importance when one takes heed of the way in which the letters were produced.

They were seized, it is said, on the 20th. Now, on the 26th, the members of the Privy Council issue a proclamation to seize Bothwell as murderer of the late King and *traitor ravisher* of the Queen (*Anderson*, I., 139). Not a word about the letters ; and yet Dalgleish had been examined on that day. On the 27th of June the same lords unite, *under Morton*, and decree tortures against the two Blacaters and James Edmonston, without alluding to the letters or to Dalgleish. When Throckmorton, on the 11th of July, proposed to set Mary free, the nobles objected, but not a syllable was breathed about the letters

(*Bishop Keith*, 417). On the 14th of July he says that the Queen is much more closely confined,

"because she will not by any means be induced to lend her authority to prosecute the murder, nor will not consent by any perswasion to abandon the Lord Bothell for her husband, but avoweth constantly that she will live and die with him."—*Robertson's Append.*

Not a word about the letters, which might, however, have thoroughly proved the insane fancy of Mary for Bothwell; and it was three weeks since they had been found! On the 18th, the same ambassador speaks of the public mind changing against Mary, of her crime of adultery with Bothwell, of the arrests, &c., and the same silence is observed (*Robertson's Append.*). On the 19th the idea of secret papers is seen to dawn:—

"They are determyned to procede agaynst her publykelye, by manyfestation of such evydence as they are able to charge her with."—*Bishop Keith*, pref. xii.

But on the 21st., the hint, if it is one, disappears, and it is stated in an act of the Privy Council that Bothwell,

"after he had alswa tresonabilie revesid Hir Majestie's maist nobill Persoun, and led hir captive to Dunbar, constrenit hir, being in his Bondage and Thraldome, to contract sic an ungodlie and pretendit mariage with him."—*Anderson*, I., 142.

On the 25th, the cloud miraculously vanishes.

"They mean to charge her with incontineny, as well with the Earl of Bothwell as with others; having (as they say) sufficient proof against her for this crime."—*Throckmorton's Letter*, *Goodall*, II., 62.

They are again lost sight of entirely for five months, and at length are brilliantly presented on the 4th of December 1567:

"divers hir previe letteris writtin halelie with hir awin hand, and send be hir to James, sumtyme Erle of Bothwell."—*Goodall*, II., 67.

On the 16th of September 1568, Moray receives the casket from the hand of Morton,

"testifeing and declaring that he (Morton) has trewlie and honestlie observit and keptit the said box, and haill writtis and pecis forsaidis within the same without ony alteratioun, augmentatioun or diminutioun thairof, in ony part or portioun."—*Goodall*, II., 90.

That certificate of Moray seems so much the more singular as the illustrious bastard was not in Edinburgh, but in France, when the box was taken. Evil-minded people make that reflection.

It is seen, from an act of the Privy Council, that the box contained twenty-one documents, letters, contracts, sonnets and *ballets*. No one had as yet presented, and no one ever saw afterwards all those documents. Mary's enemies promise autograph letters, signed "written and subscrivit, written halelie with her awin hand," and the letters brought

forward were neither autograph nor signed, and so wanting in authenticity, that Lesley, in his letter to the Queen of England, affirmed without fear of being contradicted :

"Thai ar nocht subscrivit be the allegit wretar thairof, nor selit nor signetit, and contenis na dait of their moneth nor day, nor zit direct to na man, and in the same thair is mention maid of a beirar, as is allegit, quho wes nevir zit knawin as did ressaif thame frome hir or deliuer thame at hir command to ony vther in the world."—Lesley's letter in a "Journal of Affairs."—*MS., University of Edinburgh, and Goodall.*

There is another difficulty : in what language were the letters written ? At the York secret Conference, Moray's partisans presented letters from Mary, in the Scottish language, as coming directly from her hand :

"these men heare do constantlie affirme the said letters and other writings, which they produce of her own hand, to be her own hand indede, and do offer to swear and take their oaths thereupon."—*Commiss. to Queen Elizabeth.—Goodall, II., 142 ; Mr Hosack, 214.*

The English commissioners were so persuaded that the letters in the Scottish language presented to them, were the originals written by the Queen's own hand, that in the extracts which they made from them for Elizabeth's personal edification, the following words are noticed :

"The speciall words in the Quene of Scots lettres, written with her owne hand to Bothwell, declaring the inordynate and filthie love betwixt her and him."—*Sadler's Papers, II., 337.*

Sadler gives only the English summary of the letters, claiming for them the title of autographs ; but the textual extracts which were sent by the commissioners to the English minister, and which Goodall has reproduced from the original, were in *Scottish language.* (*Chalmers, III., 284 sq.*)

From that, the Scottish text is then the true original of Mary's letters, "written with her owne hande to Bothwell."

In Moray's instructions to the Commendator of Dunfermline, we read :

"We producit eight letteris in French, written be the Quenis awin hand, and sent to the said James, sumtime Erle of Bothvill."—*Goodall, II., 87.*

Not only the language in which the documents were written, but also the number of them in the casket varied ; one of the letters remained no doubt at the bottom of the marvellous box, for Moray's envoys produced only seven.

"They produced seven several wrytings, wrytten in French in the lyke Romain hand, as others her letters which were shewed yesternight, and avowed by them to be wrytten by the said Quene, which seven wrytings being copied, were read in French."—*Journal of Commiss.—Goodall, II., 235.*

On the 13th of December, at Hampton Court, the original letters appear without mention of the language, but on comparing them with those which Mary had sent to Elizabeth, one is led to believe that

they are in French : for the two Queens always corresponded in French. (*Goodall*, II., 235.)

From those texts we learn that Moray sent to York *eight French autograph* letters, and that his commissioners put forward only seven autograph Scottish letters.

I am well aware it will be objected that the Scottish version presented to the English commissioners was the translation of John Wood. That explanation can scarcely be defended ; 1st, because Sadler and the commissioners speak of originals ; 2dly, because the extracts are in Scottish language ; 3dly, because, from the Scottish text, an English translation was made for the satisfaction of Elizabeth (*Chalmers*, II., 435), which would not have been done if there was a French text, for Elizabeth understood and wrote the latter language as if it had been her own.

A publisher of the Detection, even during Buchanan's lifetime, thought he could conciliate opinions by asserting that

"the letters placed at the end had been written by the Queen, some in French, some in Scottish, and some wholly translated into Latin."—*Goodall*, I., 103.

That kind of explanation has been abandoned, and now the learned hold that the original French text has been lost, and that the text given by Buchanan is only the retranslation into French of the Latin translation from the Scotch translation of the primitive French text ! The poor souls are obliged to admit that hypothesis, for, in truth, the existing French translation, although of the XVI. century, is so awkward and so often contrary to the meaning and good sense of the Scottish text and of reason, that it is impossible to look upon such a version as the original. The reader will judge of that by some quotations.

P. 9. Edit. Teulet, "sum" (some) is translated into Latin by "quemdam," and in French by "un ;" further, p. 19, the word "irkit" (wearied) is translated with as much coarseness as ignorance into Latin by "nudata sum," into French by "je suis toute nue." A nice state to be in, M. Wiesener humorously says, to set about writing during the night, in Glasgow, in the depth of winter.

P. 30. The sentence "to the quhilk (bracelet) I can get no lokkis," ought to have been translated into French by these words : "je ne puis accommoder au bracelet son fermoir." The Latin translator having translated "lokkis" by "ceram" instead of "seram," the clever French interpreter has bravely written : "je ne puis accommoder de la *cire* au bracelet." It is clear that this great blunder has arisen from the Latin text. It now remains for the reader to decide if M. Mignet is right

when he pretends that the present French text has been translated directly from the Scottish text.

The whole of the wretched dispute is shrouded in darkness.

"Buccananus vnas vno, alio loco multas scribit fuisse Reginæ ad Bothuellum literas de nece mariti."—*Jebb* I., 410.

"Buchanan writes in one place that the Queen had sent a letter, in another, many letters, to Bothwell, concerning the death of her husband."

What letter is meant? Is it the coarse scroll shown to Kirkaldy after the battle of Carbery-Hill? Or is it the first letter from Glasgow? Neither the one nor the other. It is an autograph letter which was never seen at York or Westminster; but the one of which Moray, by no means an unreliable witness, left the following description with the ambassador of Spain.

"que se avia sabido sin duda por una carta de la reyna escripta al Bothuel, de mas de tres pliegos de papel *toda de su propria mano, y firmado de su nombre*; en la cual escribia en sustancia, que no tardasse en venir á poner á execucion lo que tenian ordenado, porque su marido le dezia tantas buenas palabras por engañarla y atraerla á su voluntad que podria ser que lo moviese á ello, si no se hazia lo demas con presteza, y que ella misma iria á traerle y vendrian á una casa en el camino á donde procuraria se le diese algun bevediza, y que si esto no pudiese hacerse, le pondria en la casa á donde estava ordenado lo del fuego, para la noche que se avia de casar un criado suyo, como se hizo; y que el se procurasse desembaraçar de su muger apartandose della, dandole algun bevida con que muriese." De Silva to Philip II., 31st July 1567.—*Arch. de Simancas. Inglaterra leg.* 819, 61.

"that he had learned (the truth) beyond the shadow of a doubt from a letter of more than three sheets, written by the Queen to Bothwell, *all in her own hand and signed with her name*, in which she wrote in substance that he should not delay in coming to carry out what they had decided upon, for her husband was saying so many sweet words to her to beguile her and entice her to his will that he might perhaps gain her over if the end were not quickly reached; that she herself would go and fetch him (her husband) and that they should come to a house on the way where she would endeavour to give him some drink and if that were not possible, she should take him to the house where inflammable materials had been put in the night time during which her servant should be married, as it happened: and that for his part (Bothwell) he should seek to get rid of his wife by separating from her or by giving her some drink from taking which she might die."

That summary has no reference to any of the letters attributed to Mary. It is another *autograph* letter quite distinct, of which, notwithstanding its importance, no one heard afterwards.

Moray at first loudly asserted that the letters were autograph and signed; he lowered his tone a little when the question arose of bringing the letters to bear against the Queen of Scots, and he was the first to doubt their value. He said in his note to Middlemore:

"It may be that sic letteris as we haif of the Quene, our Soverane Lordis moder, that sufficientlie in our opinioun, preivis hir consenting to the murthure of the King hir lauchful husband, sal be callit in doubt be the juges to be constitute for examinatioun and trial of the caus, quether thay may stand, or fall; pruiif, or not."—*Goodall*, II., 76.

Moray was not far wrong in his conjectures, for in the middle of the debates, one of the judges, who had, for himself, looked into the value of those documents, expressed the same doubts still more strongly :

" If her adverse partie accuse her of the murther by producyng of her letters, she will deny them, and accuse the most of them of manifeste consent to the murther, hardely to be denyed ; so as upon the tryal of bothe sydes, her proofs will judicially fall beste out, as it is thought." Sussex to Cecil, 22d October 1568.—*Lodge*.

The better to prop up the letters, Moray brings forward the confession of the pretended bearer, Nicolas Hubert, so called " Paris." He makes him say that, with his own hand, he delivered the letters to Bothwell, in Edinburgh. The wretch does not remember that on that date, according to his own diary, Bothwell is in Liddesdale, seventy miles from Edinburgh. (*Anderson*, II., 272.) Yet the idea of supporting the letters by confessions was well received in England, and Walsingham wrote to Cecil (20th November).

" that if for the discovery of the Queen of Scots's consent to the murder of her husband, there lacketh sufficient proofs, he is able to discover certain (persons) that should have been employed in the said murder and who are here to be produced."—*State Papers, Mary Q. of Scots, and Chalmers*.

Notwithstanding the *autographs* and confession, Moray's wavering was yet such that he would not charge his sister till he had made sure of Elizabeth's help. Commiss. to Q. Elizabeth (*Goodall*, II., 136.) What inference must be drawn from so great indecision in such a man ?

No one doubts that Mary's writing was often forged (*Life of Kirkaldy*, 180, *Glassford Bell*, II., 327) and Moray, himself, had been suspected as the forger (*Goodall*, I., 198, *Marioreybanks*, 15.) The boldness of the lines made it easy to imitate her writing, and specimens could easily be had, for the poor Queen wrote a great deal. As Moray had foreseen, the Queen's commissioners attacked the authenticity of the letters so keenly that the forgers must have felt it.

" Sa Maïesté proteste et iure solemnellement en foy de Princesse et par la redemption de son âme, qu'elle ne les a iamais escrites, et qu'elles ont esté supposées par ses ennemis, et extorquées de quelqu'un qui pensoit contrefaire sa main. Ce n'est pas la première fois qu'ils ont vsé de ceste manière de faire. Mouray icy present en sçauroit bien que dire, s'il vouloit confesser la vérité, la quelle toutesfois est si bien cognüe et a esté tellement auerée, qu'il ne la peut nier. Lorsque le ieune comte de Hontley estoit prisonnier à Dombard, Mouray dépescha homme par deuers le Seign. de Craigulair, capitaine du Chasteau avec lettres

" Her Majesty protests and solemnly swears on her faith as a Princess and by the redemption of her soul that she never wrote them and that they have been put in form by her enemies, and that some one who thought he could forge her writing has been made to write them. It is not the first time that they have so acted. Moray, here present, could say a good deal on the subject, if he were to confess the truth, which however is so well known and has been so proven, that he cannot deny it. When the young Earl of Huntly was a prisoner at Dumbard, Moray sent a man to the Lord of Craigmillar, Captain of the Castle, with letters, forgeries

cōtrefaites de la main de Sa M. par lesquelles il luy estoit enioint qu'incōtinēt les presētes receues, et sās aucū delay il fist mourir ledit cōte. Le capitaine, hōme courtois et gracieux, et meū de pitié de ce pauvre ieune Seig. luy mōstre les lettres, et prēd aduis avec luy de differer l'exécution iusques à ce qu'il eut entēdu la volonte de Sa M. par sa propre bouche . . . s'estant presenté deuant elle, il luy declare qu'il auoit executé le contenu de ses lettres, et que son cousin le comte de Hontley estoit mort. Quoy entendu, elle se print aux cheueux, detestant et maudissant la desloyauté de ceux qui auoient esté les auteurs d'un tel acte. Alors le capitaine resiouy, remercia Dieu de ce qu'il n'auoit creu à ses lettres, lesquelles il luy monstra si bien falsifiées que sa Maiesté les pensoit auoir escrites, et y auoir apposé son nom, combien qu'en sa vie elle n'eust pēsé au cōtenu d'icelles. Mais enfin, elle trouua que c'estoit son frere bastard qui les auoit enuoyées. . . . Et afin que vous ne pensiez, Messieurs, que ce soient bourdes que nous vous donnons en payement, tenez et regardez, ie vous prie, voilà les lettres. Et en ce disant, leur mirent lesdites lettres entre les mains, et quelques autres de mesme estofe, contrefaites par Mourray et ses complices, dont ils se trouuerent bien confus et ne sceurent que repliquer. . . . Nous disons donq que la Royne n'a iamais escrit ces lettres, et que quand elle les auroit escrites, elles ne pourroient faire aucune foy, ny estre receües en iugement. Car elles sont *sine die et consule*, comme on dit, et ne scauons en quel temps elles ont esté escrites, ny par qui, n'estans soubscrites du nom de personne quelconque, ny signées in scellees, ny l'escriture recogneue. . . . Vous dites que ces lettres s'adressent à Bodwel, nous le nions. Vous dites qu'elles ont esté trouuées dans un petit coffre d'argēt appartenant à la Royne, nous disons (si cela est ainsi) que vous les y auez mises. . . . &c."—*Blackwood*, 604-606. Cf. *Belleforest*, I., 527.

When de Silva, the ambassador of Spain, spoke of those letters to Elizabeth, she answered :

"que no era verdad, aunque Ledington avia tratado mal esto, y que si ella le viese, le diria algunas palabras que no le harian buen gusto." G. de Silva to Philip II, 21st July 1567.—*Arch. de Simancas, Inglaterra*, leg. 819, 42.

of her Majesty's writing, by which he was ordered, immediately on receipt of the letters and without any delay, to put to death the said Earl. The captain, a courteous and gracious man, and moved with pity for the poor young Lord, shows him the letters and consults with him as to putting off the execution until he heard the order from her Majesty's own mouth. . . . Having presented himself before her, he assures her that he had acted in obedience to her letters and that her cousin the Earl of Huntly was dead. On hearing which she tore out her hair, and cursed the disloyalty of the hated men who had been the authors of such an act. Then the Captain, overjoyed, thanked God that he had not believed in her letters, which he showed to her so well forged that her Majesty thought she had written them, and had signed her name to them though she had never in her life dreamt of their contents. But at length, she found out it was her bastard brother who had sent them. . . . And, gentlemen, that you may not fancy we wish to take you in with untruths, look, I pray you, there are the letters. And so saying the said letters were put into their hands along with some others of a similar description, forged by Moray and his accomplices, at which they were very much confused and knew not what to answer. . . . We say then that the Queen never wrote those letters, and, though she had written them, that they could not be trusted to nor received at her trial, for they are *sine die et consule*, as the saying is, and we know not when they were written nor by whom; there being no one to swear to the handwriting which is without signature or seal. . . . You say those letters are addressed to Bothwell; we deny it. You say they have been found in a small silver casket belonging to the Queen; we say (if that is true) that you put them there. . . . &c."

"that such was not true, and that Lethington had worked badly at it, and that if she saw him she should say certain things to him which would be bitter to him."

"It was notoriously known Lethington, by his own confession, had often counterfeited (her hand)."—*Craufurd's Memoirs*, 100; *Febb*, 186.

"The English Commissioners require better proofs than by letters, for Lethington had counterfeited her hand, and was suspected might do so by these."—*Sanderson*, 64.

Those texts accuse Lethington alone; yet the contents of the letters, the allusions, the names, the story of Lady Reres, clearly prove that if Lethington was the scribe, Buchanan was the real author of that mystery. He alone could write in French such atrocities; he had been a Professor of Belles-Lettres at the College of Bordeaux, and at St^e-Barbe. He was ungrateful enough to do it, for he had dragged in the mire, one after another, Professor John Major, who had drawn him out of poverty, and had given him the start in literature; the King of Portugal, who had welcomed him with distinction in his states; the monks, who had given him shelter in the hour of danger; the Emperor Charles V., whose exploits he had formerly sung; and lastly, this same Mary Stuart, who had saved him from death, and who had bestowed a pension on him in Scotland. (*D. Irving*, I., 80; *Febb*, II., 475.)

That is enough, I think, about the forging. I have been anxious to examine separately the part played by Moray's band. I have proved that it was a settled purpose to defame Mary, that Bothwell never had any such letters in his possession, that Moray circulated among the public a large number of false documents, that the origin of the letters is absurd, the part of Balfour ridiculous and dangerous, the taking of Dalgleish uncertain, the silence of the nobles unlikely, their words and deeds not in keeping with their discovery, the attestation of the letters insignificant, and the number of the documents seized variable; that the promise of autograph and signed letters was not kept, those letters being neither autograph nor signed, and being without date or address, and presented in turns in Scottish and in French; that the authors were uncertain as to the success of their invention; that Bothwell, to whom the letters were handed in Edinburgh, was, according to the forgers themselves, on the borders of Scotland; in short, I have proved that Mary's writing had often been counterfeited. After having traced the acts of Moray's partisans, it is but fair that I should examine the question as regards Mary Stuart. I am about to show that the Queen had no time to write those letters, and that she could not write such things; I shall conclude with the judgment passed upon them by the commissioners of York and Westminster, and with the sudden change of opinion which time and reflection brought about among those who had watched the proceedings more closely.

§ I.—THE QUEEN HAD NO TIME TO WRITE :

FIRST, THE LETTERS FROM GLASGOW ;
SECOND, THE LETTERS FROM STIRLING.

1st. *The Letters from Glasgow.* Two opinions.

First Opinion.—Mary goes on the 20th (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 105), or the 21st (Moray's Diary, *Anderson*, II., 271) to Glasgow, where she arrives on the 23d (*Idem, ibidem*). Paris follows her ; he spends two days (the days of the 24th and 25th) in Glasgow (Confess., *Teulet*, 94), which fixes his departure on the 25th, if one reckons the day of the 23d in the two days, or on the 26th, if one allows two full days. Paris, having the letter, repaired to Edinburgh, and handed it to Bothwell. The Queen left Glasgow on the 27th of January (Moray's Diary, *Anderson*, II., 272).

It is very unlikely that the Queen sent Paris to Edinburgh with a letter on the eve of her setting out from Glasgow, and it cannot be believed that, in such a circumstance, she should ask an answer. That seems inadmissible. But if one studies the letter in detail, it will be seen that Paris took the letter and awaited the reply only on the 27th, the day of the Queen's departure.

In the first third of the letter Mary Stuart writes :

"Touchant Guillaume Hiegait, il l'a confessé, mais non jusques au jour d'après mon arrivée."—*Teulet*, 11.

"As to the rest of Willie Hiegait's, he confessit it, bot it was the morne efter my cumming."

That sentence, then, points out that the famous letter could not have been written, at the earliest, before the 25th. Mary would not have written those words had the thing taken place on the day itself. The Latin confirms the French and Scottish texts : "postridie quam veneram."

At page 16,

"voilà ce que j'ai despêché pour mon premier jour, esperant achever demain le reste."

"this is my first jorney : I shall end ye same ye morne."

At page 18,

"je m'en vay pour trouver mon repos jusques au lendemain."

"I am gangand to seik myne till ye morne."

At page 19,

"je suis toute nue (read : ennuyée) et m'en vay coucher."

"I am irkit and ganging to sleip."

So much for the day of the 25th.

"J'ay aujourd'huy travaillé jusques à deux heures en ce brasselet, pour y enfermer la clef qui est jointe au bas avec deux petites cordes."
—23.

"I wrocht this day quhill it was twa houris upon this bracelet, for to put the key of it within the lock thair of, quhilk is couplit underneth with twa cordounis."

At page 27,

"Le porteur vous recitera plusieurs particularités d'autant qu'il y a trop de choses qui restent à escrire et qu'il est desja tard."

"This beirer will schaw zou many small thingis; becaus I have over mekle to wryte, and it is lait."

At page 30,

"Je ne l'ay (Darnley) point veu ceste après-disnée, parce que je faisoye vostre brasselet."

"I saw him not this evening for to end zour bracelet."

At page 34,

"Il est tard, néanmoins je ne désire jamais cesser de vous escrire."

"It is lait; I desyre never to ceis fra wryting unto zou."

The day of the 26th is taken up in the same way; we are at the 27th.

Second Opinion.—The second opinion held by (*Goodall*, I., 120); (*Chalmers*, I., 366; II., 446); (*Miss Strickland*, III., 111-114); (*M. Wiesener*, 164, 165), gives to the Glasgow letters a blow as fatal and more speedy. According to those learned authors, the Queen set out from Edinburgh only on the 24th, because there have been found in the registers of the Privy Seal two acts, one dated the 22d, the other the 24th of January, both signed by the Queen. The reader is at liberty to choose the one or the other of those two opinions: I do not judge them; yet the English Border correspondence tends to confirm the second.

The second letter is not a whit more clever; it is dated from Glasgow "ce samedy matin." That cannot have been in the first part of the month, or before the 23d or 24th, seeing that the Queen did not set foot in Glasgow before that time. It can then be only between the 24th and the 27th, the date of her return. Thus the letter has been irrevocably fixed as of Saturday, 25th of January. In the opinion of those who assert that the Queen set out on the 24th from Edinburgh, that letter is inadmissible, for, as Moray himself admits (*Anderson*, II., 271), on the day after her departure, Bothwell was still beside her. There is then left to examine, only the first opinion, which leads to absurdity.

In the first sentence, Mary is supposed to complain of Bothwell's negligence in letting her hear from him, and in the course of the letter, she says:

"Si Paris m'apportoit ce pourquoy j'avoye envoyé, j'espère que je me porteroie mieux."
38.

"Gif Paris bringis me that quhilk I send him for, I traist it sall amend me."

The first letter was not yet written ; and Paris was still near her !

As far as the third and fourth letters are concerned, I really do not know what to do with them. In the third, written, likely, after the first two, Mary asks Bothwell to let her know "de bon matin" how he is : it is incredible ! M. Mignet, clever champion of Moray's cause, has examined the *translations* without enquiring whether Mary had, or had not, time to write the originals. I defy him to get out of the dates.

2d. Letters from Stirling.

Four letters ; dates vague : April, 1567, except the third, which is damned by being too precise : 22d of April, 1567 (*Teulet*, 56).

Mary sets out on the 21st, and returns on the 24th of April. Mr Wiesener, discussing the dates, writes :

"It must be remembered that the Queen, who left Seton on Monday, 21st of April, to go and see her son at Stirling, slept on the way at Callander, reached Stirling on the next day, 22d, spent there the night between the 22d and 23d, set out again on the 23d, slept at Linlithgow betwixt the 23d and 24th, and was seized by Bothwell just as she was entering Edinburgh. She then spent in Stirling, only the single night between the 22d and 23d."—*Questions Historiques*, V., 395.

Four letters in a single night ; really it is too much ! But the surprising thing is that the second sentence of the first letter points out an already long separation between Mary and Bothwell, which is contrary to the facts, for Mary had just left Bothwell in Edinburgh. (*Moray's Diary, Diurnal of Occurrents*). This is the sentence :

<p>"Vous m'aviez promis que vous vous resouldriez en toutes choses, et que chacun jour, vous m'enverriez dire ce que j'auroye à faire."—50.</p>	<p>"Ze had promysit me that ze wald resolve all, and yat ze wald send me word every day quhat I suld do."</p>
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How explain the "chacun jour." Is it not a surprising blunder ? That long separation is again mentioned, p. 51.

<p>"Si vous n'eussiez changé d'opinion depuis mon absence non plus que moy, vous ne me demanderiez maintenant d'en estre resolue."</p>	<p>"Gif ze had not mair changeit zour mynd, sen myne absence, then I have, ze suld not be now to ask sic resolving."</p>
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At the idea of a long separation, that unlucky sentence again leads one to suppose that Bothwell had written to Mary, or had had her told that he had changed his plan. The letter could be written only during the night, betwixt the 22d and 23d, for it ends with these words :

<p>"Dieu vous donne la bonne nuict."</p>	<p>"God give zou gude nicht."</p>
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Singular ending, by the way, as the letter, written at bedtime in Stirling, could not reach Edinburgh before the morning.

To reconcile the first letter with the second, it must be supposed

that Bothwell wrote anew to the Queen to express doubts to her, for that second letter begins bluntly by these words :

"Du lieu et de l'homme (read : temps) je m'en rapporte à vostre frère et à vous."—58.

"Of the place and the tyme, I remit myself to zour brother and to zow."

A like difficulty for the third letter. The first sentence is as follows :

"Mylord, depuis ma lettre escrite, vostre beau-frère, qui fust, est venu à moy fort triste, et m'a demandé mon conseil de ce qu'il feroit après demain."—(*Four de l'enlèvement ; note de Teulet, 56.*)

"My Lord, sen my letter writtin, zour brother-in-law yat was, come to me verray sad, and hes askit me my counsel, quhat he suld do efter to morne."—(*Day of the Abduction of Mary by Bothwell ; note by Teulet.*)

Whence it follows :

First, that the third letter was preceded by another ; and,

Secondly, that it was written, as Teulet says, on the 22d, the carrying off being accomplished on the 24th : conclusions fatal to the first and second letter, because Mary could write nothing before that period. The difficulty is still greater as regards Huntly. In that same third letter, written on the 22d, it is said that he

"est venu fort triste, &c."

"came very sad, &c."

Now, in the first letter, it is said, p. 50 :

"Vostre desloyal beau-frère vint vers moy."

"Zour fals brother-in-law came to me."

And at page 51 :

"Je vous envoie ce porteur, d'autant que je n'ose commettre ces lettres à vostre beau-frère, qui n'usera aussi de diligence."

"I send this beirer unto zow, for I dar not traist zour brother with thir letteris nor with the diligence."

From that, it follows that in one day, Huntly came, went to Bothwell, and returned to Stirling. Let him believe it who will.

The fourth letter, a regular elegy, may be placed, no matter where, but it was assuredly not written to Bothwell, for in that case, it would be nonsense from beginning to end.

From what precedes, the reader will allow, with me, that Mary had no time to write the letters attributed to her, and that M. Mignet has skillfully steered clear of the difficulties, by shunning the question of the dates, without even allowing it to be presumed that there was any difficulty in the matter. I do him justice on that point.

§ II.—MARY COULD NOT WRITE SUCH THINGS.

Letters from Glasgow.

In the first letter, p. 7, it is said :

"Le Roy appela hier Joachim et l'interrogea. . . si j'avois prins Paris et Gilbert, afin qu'ils m'escrivissent, et si je ne vouloye pas licentier Joseph. Or je m'estonne qui luy en a tant déclaré; car mesme il a tenu propos (du mariage) de Sébastian."

"The King send for Joachim zisternicht and askit at him . . . gif I had takin Paris and Gilbert to wryte to me? and yat I wald send Joseph away? I am abaschit quha hes schawin him sa far; zea he spak evin of ye marriage of Bastiane."

It seems strange, at the first glance, that all those different points are piled up with so much care alongside of one another. Darnley knew nothing of Paris, who, on the day before, was still in Bothwell's service, and consequently he could make no inquiries of him. The name of Gilbert Curle seems also out of place; for, according to the confession of Paris, there was a talk of attaching Gilbert to the King's person only on the return from Glasgow (*Teulet*, 97). The dismissal of Joseph here mentioned is the more remarkable as this servant was, at a later period, and no doubt very wrongly, reported to be one of the King's murderers. Bastian's marriage must have been introduced afterwards. It is impossible to see why Darnley should trouble himself about that marriage, and why Mary should attach so much importance to it; for neither the one nor the other foresaw that those unfortunate nuptials were to end so sadly. The forgers ought also, before making a secretary of Paris, to have asked him if he could read or write: the poor wretch was quite ignorant of both reading and writing, as we learn from his second confession. All that passage then is to be looked upon as unlikely.

At page 8, Mary repeats *from memory* a long conversation she had with Darnley; and, wonderful to tell, Thomas Crawford, to whom Darnley afterwards gave it *from memory*, wrote it down in private, again *from memory*, so literally that the terms themselves are quite identical:

Scotch.

"Ze ask me quhat I mene be the crueltie contenit in my letter? It is of zow alone that will not accept my offeris and repentance," etc.—*Mary's letter*.

English.

"Ye asked me what I ment bye the crueltie specified in my lettres; yat procedethe of yow onelye that will not accept mye offres and repentance," etc.—*Crawford's deposition*.

The affair of Minto (11) and some other details are given with full particulars. It would be necessary to quote all. I shall merely register the fact, and catch, as I go along, the forgers in the act.

At page 11 we find:

"Dieu scâyt quelle peine je porte, de ce que j'ay fait de vous un Dieu."

"God knawis how I am punischit for making my God of zow."

"God knoweth howe I am punischit for makinge mye God of you."—*Crawford's Depos.*

A very unlikely remark from the royal murderer of Riccio. Taken

along with several others (13), it has led Whittaker and Mr Henry Glassford Bell to say: the letter minutely reproduces Darnley's reproaches without saying a word about Mary's answers; therefore it is false, for in that statement of the case is clearly seen the fixed purpose of defaming the Queen of Scots. Mary could not have written so.

At page 16 :

"Aujourd'huy le sang est sorti du nez et de la bouche à son père; vous donc devinez maintenant quel est ce présage. Je ne l'ay point encore veu, car il se tient en sa chambre."

"Thys day his fater bled at the mouth and nose, ges quhat presage that is. I have not zit sene him, he keipis his chalmers."

If it be so, either Crawford's deposition or the letter is false; for there is written in the deposition :

"The Kinge for yet mye L. hys father *was then absent* and sicke, bye reason whereof he coule not speke with selfe, called me vnto him and theise wordes yat had then passed betwixt him and the Quene, he gave me in remembrance to reporte unto the said mye Lord hys father."

The confession and the letter do not agree; and it is beyond belief that a man gifted with such a *good memory* did not remember that his master dwelt in the same house, and bled at the nose.

At page 17 :

"Nous sommes conjoints avec deux espèces d'hommes infideles (read : races perfides). Le diable nous veuille séparer, et que Dieu nous conjoigne à jamais, à ce que soyons deux personnes très fidèles, si jamais autres ont esté conjointes ensemble."

"We ar couplit with twa fals races. The devil sinder us, and God knit us togidder for ever, for the maist faithfull coupill that ever he unitit."

The word "diable" was never uttered by Mary. Moreover, she knew well that the Catholic Church, which she loved in her heart's core, forbade such marriages (*Concil. trident., Sess. xxix.*) : it is therefore through oversight that the Protestants have lent their doctrines to the Queen of Scots. They ought to have looked more searchingly into what took place at Trent on the 11th of November 1563.

After a disgraceful scene intended to lower Mary's character, the forger makes the Queen of Scots say (23) :

"Maintenant, je vien à ma délibération odieuse. Vous me contraignez de tellement dissimuler que j'en ay horreur, veu que vous me forcez de ne jouer pas seulement le personnage d'une trahistresse."

"I am now passand to my fascheous purpois. Ze gar me dissemble sa far, that I haif horring thairat; and ye cause me do almaist the office of a traitores."

The word "odieuse," "fascheous," and the consideration which follows, cannot have been written by a woman of strong passions : there is no likelihood of it.

At page 34, it is said :

"Excusez mon ignorance à escrire et relisez mes lettres. Excusez la briefveté des Caractères, car hier je n'avoie point de papier quand j'escrivis ce qui est au mémoire. Ayez souvenance de vostre amye et luy rescrivez souvent. Aimez-moi comme je vous aime et ayez memoire du propos de Mademoiselle de Reres.

"Des Anglais.

"De Sa Mère.

"Du Comte d'Orghley.

"Du Comte de Bothwell.

"Du Logis d'Edinburgh."

"Excuse my evill wryting, and reid it twyse over. Excuse that thing that is scriblit, for I had na paper zisterday quhen I wrait that of ye memoriall. Remember upon zour lufe, and wryte unto hir, and that verray oft. Lufe me as I sall do zou.

"Remember zou of the purpois of the Lady Reres.

"Of the Englishmen.

"Of his mother.

"Of the Erle of Argyll.

"Of the Erle of Bothwell.

"Of the Ludgeing in Edinburgh."

Might not that "ignorance à escrire" and that "briefveté des caractères" be precautions of the forgers? It is strange that, in a love-letter, notice should be taken of matters so trifling. Her bidding to "rescrire souvent" can scarcely be understood, when they are to meet in two days, and when they are only sixty miles from one another.

"The end is strange," says, with justice, the learned Professor Wiesener. That the writer, having no paper the day before, should, when at the middle of her letter, have used, as is asserted, the sheet on which were her notes, may, once in a way, be admitted, although it is surprising that the development should end just above the prepared notes; but here, at the last words, what is the use of the second table of contents, which, besides, is not one, for it does not correspond with the developments of the second part? What is the meaning of Mary begging the Earl of Bothwell to remember the Earl of Bothwell? Why mention made of "the ludgeing in Edinburgh," when, in that letter and in the following, the residence at Craigmillar alone is talked about? Is it meant to make one believe that the crime of Kirk-of-Field is being already arranged? What mean the words, "des Anglais, de sa mère?"

The second letter opens with a great trouble; no news from Bothwell! As if the road between the one and the other could be gone over in the twinkling of an eye. At page 35 it is said:

"J'ameine l'homme avec moy lundy à Craigmillar."

"I bring the man with me to Craigmillar upon Monunday."

The clever ones think that a bad combination, and that Mary does not really know what she is about. There is here a contradiction which shocks them, and if the letters had not been owned as authentic by Moray himself, they would cast them aside as a mean attempt at forgery. Bothwell prepares on the 24th the lodging at Kirk-of-Field (Moray's Diary, *Anderson*, II., 272). Mary orders Paris to ask him

what dwelling he thinks best for the King ; the answer is Kirk-of-Field, that "le logis est prest" (*Teulet*, 96), and now she wants to take the King to Craigmillar Castle. To explain that, and excuse Mary Stuart from changeableness in her plans, it is said that Paris had not yet brought the answer from Bothwell ; but then, how admit that Mary could send four letters, one after another, if she had not yet received an answer to the first. The question of time is opposed to it. To complete the contradiction, in the deposition certified by Thomas Nelson it is said :

"the King suld haif lyne first at Craigmyllare : bot becaus he had na will thair of the purpos wes alterit and conclusioun takin that he suld ly besyde kirk of feild."—*Anderson*, IV., 165.

Whence it follows that Kirk-of-Field was chosen only as a last resort, and on the refusal of Darnley to go and live at Craigmillar ; but contradictions, and impossibilities even, prove nothing : the letters, M. Mignet says, are authentic.

The third letter is the most curious of all ; it breathes a perfume of honesty and sweet affection, which contrasts strongly with the ribaldry of the earlier ones. Many historians will have it, that it was written to Darnley, by no means to Bothwell. They inquire what has become of Darnley's papers ; and they prove that before blowing up the house it may have been completely pillaged. There was time enough, and people enough, for the purpose.

That letter cannot have been meant for Bothwell, for at page 41 there is written :

"Vous aviez deffendu que je n'escrivisse ou que je n'envoyasse par devers vous ; néantmoins je ne l'ay faict pour vous offenser."

"Ze commandit me nouthir to wryte nor send unto zou : zit I have not done this to offend zou."

That is at variance with the letters to Bothwell, in which the two lovers long to hear from each other : "Je ne desire jamais cesser de vous escrire," p. 34 ; "ayez souvenance de vostre amye et luy rescrivez souvent," p. 35 ; directly opposed to the first sentence of the second letter :

"au partir vous me promistes de vos nouvelles, et toutesfois je n'en puis apprendre."

"at zour departing ze promysit to mak me advertisement of zour newis from tyme to tyme."

and at pages 42 and 43,

"Vous prie que, suivant vos promesses, vous me faciez entendre vostre affection . . . en toutes les choses qui vous concernent, ou qui vous peuvent garder et conserver à celle à laquelle seule vous estes entièrement de droict ; car je vous puis m'attribuer comme mien, qui vous ay acquis seule loyaument, en vous ayment aussi uniquement comme je fay et feray tant que je vivray."

"I prayis zou, according to zour pomeis, to discharge zour hart unto me . . . in onything that tuichis zou, or zat may preserve and keip zou unto hir to quhome only ze appertene ; gif it be sa that I may appropriate that quhillk is wyn throch faithfull, zea, only luifing of zou, as I do, and sall do all the dayis of my lyfe."

It seems to me that Mary could not use such words to Bothwell, for he by no means belonged to her by right, and the gaining of him could not by any means be loyal. So, let us to others.

At pages 44 and 45,

"Je m'en vay coucher et vous dy adieu. Faites moy certaine de bon matin de vostre portement ; car je seray en peine jusques à ce que je l'entende . . . ceste lettre fera volontiers ce que je ne pourray faire moy-mesme, si d'aventure, comme je crain, vous ne dormez desja."

"I am going to bed, and will bid zou gude nicht. Advetise me tymely in the morning how ze have fairin ; for I will be in pane unto I get worde . . . this letter will do with ane gude hart that thing quhilk I cannot do myself, gif it be not that I have feir that ze ar in sleiping."

That sentence could never be written from Glasgow to Edinburgh ; all tends to show that he to whom the Queen wrote in those terms was in the neighbourhood, a short way from her. That passage, coupled with that from page 43 copied above, almost clearly proves that the letter was addressed to Darnley himself.

At page 45,

"Je n'ay osé escrire en présence de Joseph, Sebastian et Joachim."

"I durst not wryte this befor Joseph, Bastiane and Joachim."

Nowhere do we see that those three servants went with the Queen to Glasgow ; it is very nearly certain that two of them, Joseph and Bastian, had stayed in Edinburgh.

In the middle of the letter is a sentence commonly believed to have been put in by the slanderers of Mary. The words foreign to the letter are in italics.

"Je vous prie que, suivant vos promesses, vous me faciez entendre vostre affection ; *(autrement j'estimeray que cela se faict par mon malheureux destin et par la faveur des astres envers celles qui toutesfois n'ont une tierce partie de loyauté et volonté que j'ay de vous obeir, si elles, comme si j'estoye une seconde amye de Jason, malgré moy, occupent le premier lieu de faveur ; ce que je ne dy pour vous accompagner à cet homme en l'infélicité qu'il avoit ny moy avec une femme toute esloignée de misericorde comme estoit celle-là, combien que vous me contraignez estre en aucune partie semblable à elle)*, en toutes les choses qui vous concernent," &c.

"Prayis zou, according to zour promeis, to discharge zour hart unto me : *(utherfordis I will think that my malhure, and the gude handling of hir that hes not ye third part of the faithfull nor willing obedience unto zou that I beir, hes wyn, aganis my will, yat advantage over me, quhilk the second lufe of Jason wan : not that I will compair sow unto ane so unhappy as he was, nor zit myself to ane sa unpietisfull ane woman as scho. Howbeit, ze caus me to be sumthing lyke unto hir)*, in anything that tuichis zow," &c.

Diderot, who has had the merit of supplying the author of "la Rhetorique française" (*Girard*) with an example of gibberish, could not have written better. M. Wiesener remarks on that subject that Buchanan proudly counted his translation of Medea one of his strongest

claims to literary fame. "Does not an allusion to the tragic personage, then the object of all his cares, slipped into the letters, necessary companions of the *Detectio*, betray the hand of the vain-glorious forger?" (*M. Wiesener*, 197.) I am quite of the opinion of Miss Strickland, and of Messieurs Wiesener and Hosack, on that point. No letter of Mary contains those unseemly allusions.

The fourth letter, except in the allusion to Sebastian's marriage, may be looked upon as insignificant against Mary; it is of value only against its authors. It begins in a very unnatural and far from happy manner:

"Mon cœur, hélas ! faut-il que la folie d'une femme dont vous cognoissez assez l'ingratitude vers moy soit cause de vous donner déplaisir."

"My hart, alace ! must the foly of ane woman quhais unthankfulnes toward me ze do sufficiently know, be occasioun of displeasure unto zow."

Who is that woman? One might have searched in vain if the translator Buchanan, with very unwilling clumsiness, no doubt, had not himself named Margaret Carwood (*Hist. trag. Jebb*, I., 342). Well, can it be believed? that woman, made to appear so ungrateful, was always Mary Stuart's most faithful servant; the Queen of Scots gave her a dowry and a marriage outfit (*Miss Strickland*, III., 148), and wished to be present at her wedding; the grateful bride shared, at a later time, the captivity of her Sovereign, and earned by her constancy and fidelity the particular hatred of Elizabeth's fellows. (*Labanoff*, VII., 153.) The imposture could not be more manifest.

Letters from Stirling.

The first (v.) letter treats of the abduction. It states at page 50:

"Je vous veux bien advertir que vous preniez bien garde à vostre desloyal beau-frère. Il vint vers moy, sans me faire apparostre que c'estoit de vostre part, et me dit que vous l'aviez requis qu'il vous escrivit ce que je voudroye dire et où et quand je pourroye aller à vous, et ce que vous déliberiez faire de luy. Et sur cela il me remonstra que c'estoit une folle entreprise, et que pour mon honneur je ne vous pouvoye prendre à mary, puisque vous estiez marié, ny aller avec vous, et que ses gens mesmes ne le souffriroient pas, voire que les Seigneurs contrediroient à ce que en seroit proposé. Bref il semble qu'il nous soit du tout contraire."

"I advertisit zow weill to tak heid of your fals brother in law. He come to me, and without schawing me ony thing from zow, tald me that ze had willit him to wryte to zou that that I suld say, and quhair and quhen ze suld cum to me, and that that ze suld do tuiching him; and thairupon hes preichit unto me yat it was ane fulische interpryse, and that with myne honour I could never marry zou, seing that being maryit ze did cary me away, and yat his folkis wald not suffer it, and that the Lordis wald unsay yameselfis, and wald deny that thay had said. To be schort, he is all contrarie."

That is by no means probable on the part of a man who from

beginning to end had had a hand in Bothwell's criminal plot, who, according to Moray himself, signed, and was present at, the contract of the 5th of April, was, two days before using those words to Mary, among the first to put his name to the Ainslie bond, and, in short, was present at the marriage (*Diurnal of Occur.*, 111.)

At page 51 it is said :

" Touchant la place (de l'enlèvement) pardonnez-moy si je vous dy que vous estes trop négligent de vous remettre à moy. Choisissez-la donc vous-mêmes et m'en advertissez."

" Tuiching the place (of abduction), ze are to negligent, pardoun me, to remit zour self thair of unto me. Cheis it zour self, and send me word of it."

When Buchanan drew out the eighteenth book of his History, he forgot that particular in his *Detection*, for he writes without circumlocution at No. 27.

" Antequam Edimburgo discessisset, cum eo (Bothuelio) transegerat, ut ipse revertentem ad Almonis pontem eam raperet, ac secum, quo vellet, velut per vim, abduceret."

" Before leaving Edinburgh she had arranged with Bothwell that he should carry her off on her return at Almond Bridge, and that he should lead her away with him as if by force, whither he would."

In the same page it is said :

" Je vous envoie ce porteur, d'autant que je n'ose commettre ces lettres à vostre beau-frère, qui n'usera aussi de diligence. Il vous dira de mon état."

" I send this beirer unto zow, for I dar not traist zour brother with thir letteris, nor with the diligence. He sall tell zow in quhat stait I am."

In the first letter from Glasgow, p. 27, it is said in like manner :

" Le porteur vous récitera plusieurs particularités."

" This beirer will schaw zow mony small thingis."

So many confidential messengers have seemed very strange to several writers. People refuse to believe that Mary should have trusted to servants a secret so important as the murder of a King.

The second (vi.) letter also contradicts Buchanan's account, for it is stated in the first sentence :

" Du lieu et de l'homme (read : temps) je m'en rapporte à vostre frère et à vous."

" Of the place and the tyme, I remit myself to zour brother and to zow."

Then that point was not settled "*antequam Edimburgo discessisset.*" There is an absolute contradiction to the preceding letter in which Mary mistrusts Huntly, since here she trusts him. Those two passages, written the same night, are not admissible, despite the acknowledged authenticity of the letters.

At page 55 it is said :

" Donnez beaucoup de belles paroles à Lethington."

" Mony fair wordis to Lethington."

Mary could not write those words, for during that night Lethington was with her at Stirling (*Melville*, 177; *Moray's Diary*, *Anderson*, II., 275). The *Diurnal of Occurrents* says even that

"it wes devisit that William Maitland, yonger of Lethington, secretare to our Souerane ladie, *being in hir company* the tyme forsaid, suld have bene slane; neuirtheles he and George, erle of Huntlie, chancellare, wes taikin to Dunbar, and thair haldin in captivitie for a space."—110.

M. Mignet, with the prudence which characterises him, has entirely overlooked that difficulty. He might, however, have added it to "so many proofs of the authenticity of the letters which are quite in keeping with Mary's moral conduct" (I., 436). That is a sin of omission of which the illustrious Academician is often guilty.

Third (vii.) letter. Huntly feels fresh remorse, and comes back to Mary to ask her counsel:

"My lord," says Mary, 'depuis ma lettre escrete, vostre beau frere qui fust, est venu à moy fort triste et m'a demandé mon conseil de ce qu'il feroit après-demain.'

"My lord," says Mary, 'sen my letter writtin, zour brother in law zat was, come to me, verray sad, and hes askit me my counsel, quhat he suld do efter to morne.'

Besides the question of time treated above, there is in the sentence a difficulty and an anachronism. The difficulty is to account for the conduct of Huntly,

"du tout contraire au mariage,"

"all contraire" (50),

working the same day, in concert with Bothwell, at the abduction of the 24th (p. 53) and being very sad, asking what he should do on the morrow (p. 56).

The anachronism consists in Bothwell's divorce: "vostre beau-frerè qui fust," "zour brother-in-law zat was." Miss Strickland quotes somewhere a proverb which says that "falsifiers require to have good memories." The forgers have been tripping here through not consulting their registers. The text published by Robertson, App., proves that the divorce was sought at the religious tribunal on the 27th of April; at the civil, only on the 29th. The latter date is entered in the *Diurnal of Occurrents* also:

"Vpoun the penult day of Aprile, the actioun of dyvorce wes intentit be Jeane Gordoun, countes of Bothwill, aganis James Erle of Bothwill Vpoun the third day of Maij 1567, the sentence of divorce wes pronouncit be the commissaris of Edinburgh."—110.

Mary therefore could not have written that sentence.

The 4th (viii.) letter which was not put forward at Westminster is a sort of elegy which several writers think was addressed to Darnley: The words lead to that belief—the details are unimportant.

The sonnets, such as we have them, are, as admitted by Teulet, a translation of the Scotch text, itself translated into verse from the original sonnets, p. 65. I register that declaration, and I draw this natural consequence, that in Edinburgh, they could write anything in French, for they succeeded in turning Scotch poetry into French verse. Moreover, "the fraud," says M. Wiesener, "is manifest in several places. To the picture of wailing and lamentation of Lady Gordon, and of her desperate efforts to retain the husband who leaves her, we might oppose the silence of history. In point of fact, Lady Jane seems to have made up her mind easily; she accepted a domain as compensation, and soon took another husband. On no occasion did she complain of Mary Stuart."—215.

That is not all: the action for divorce is drawn up in the name of the Countess, not at all in that of the Earl, as is seen from the notarial act and the Diurnal, quoted above. Therefore those wailings are not real.

From what we have gone over, I conclude that Mary had no time to write such letters, and that she could not write them.

It may not be needless to say that on the 22d of April, the day of the above mentioned amorous follies, Mary wrote, *in her own hand*, this time, a letter to the Bishop of Mondovi:

"Je vous prieray me tenir en la bonne grâce de Sa Sainteté et ne le laysser persuader au contrayre de la dévotion que j'ay de mourir en la foy catolique et pour le bien de son église, laquelle je prie à Dieu croître et maintenir, et qu'il vous doynt heureuse et longue vie.

De Sterlin, ce xxii. d'Avrill.

Votre bien bonne amye,

Marie R."

"I beg of you to keep me in the good grace of His Holiness, and not to let him doubt my sincere intention to die in the Catholic faith and for the good of his church, which I pray God to increase and support. I pray also that he may grant you a happy and long life.

From Stirling, this 22d of April.

Your very good friend,

Marie R."

A few lines before, in the same letter, she says:

"Pour lequel effect (de communiquer avèques vous) je despècheray, estant de retour à Lislebourg, homme exprès."—*Prince Labanoff*, II., 20.

"For which effect (to communicate with you) I shall despatch, on my return to Edinburgh, an express messenger."

After that what can one think of the amorous letters of the 22d, and of the plan of having herself carried off? Let us conclude with a summary from Melville, who, as is well known, is not by any means scrupulous in accusing Mary.—(*Memoirs*, 354-5):

"A number of false reports were already rife against him (James VI.), and the same treatment had been shown to his mother, the prisoner Queen, who had been defamed by all sorts of calumnies, and by the circulation of counterfeit letters and alleged practices, in order to prepare

the minds of the people to see a blood so illustrious shed without compassion and without murmur."

That testimony is the more significant, as Melville was at Stirling with the Queen.

The Conferences of York and Westminster, where there was so much partiality in favour of Moray, that the honest Fénelon was indignant at it (cf. I., 15, 17, 19, 51, 53, 81, 89, 92),

"have not onely found the said Queene innocent and guiltlesse, of the death of her husband, but doe withall fully understand that her accusers were the very contriuers, deuisers, practioners and workers of the said murther."—*Lesley's Defense*, 80.

That affirmation, by Lesley, is supported by the following documents :

"Cependant mes rebelles s'apercevens que leur course précipitée les emportoit plus oultre qu'ilz n'avoient pourpensé et la vérité estant apparue des impostures qu'on semoit de moy, par la conférence à laquelle je me soubmis volontairement en ce pays, pour m'en esclaircir publiquement en plaine asssemblée de vos députez et des miens, etc."—Mary to Elizabeth, *Prince Labanoff*, V., 323.

"Meanwhile, my rebels noticing that their headlong course was carrying them further than they had expected, and the truth having been found out of the falsehoods spread against me, by the conference before which I willingly came forward in this country, to clear myself publicly, in presence of a full meeting of your deputies and mine, &c."

"Da tutti fu conosciuto senza dubio alcuno che ella era innocentissimo et che li accusatori erano colpevoli di questo delitto."—Cr. Petrucci to Cosmo I., *Idem*, VII., 147.

"It was acknowledged by all, without any doubt that she was quite innocent and that the accusers were guilty of the crime."

In the middle of the Conference, Lethington seeing that there was no chance of sustaining any longer the authenticity of the letters which the judges thought more than doubtful (*Sussex, Fraser's Magazine, New Series*, IV., 744), forsakes Moray's side, and says to Norfolk :

"that he had cam thyther, not ageynst the Quene of Scotts, but for hir part : and so moved this examinat to think that the Quene was not gilty of the crimes objected."—*Murdin*, 164.

Cecil attributed so little value to the letters presented by Moray, that he wrote in 1569 :

"The Fame of hir murdering of hir Husband, will, by Tyme, vanish away, or will be so by Defence handled, as it shall be no great Block in hir Waye, to acheive to hir Purposes."—*Hayne's Collection of State Papers*, 581.

"Ces calomnieurs voyants qu'il n'y faisoit pas beau, se retirèrent laissant les iuges bien édifiez de la Royne, et la reputans incoulpable et innocente du crime de ce meurtre, ou consentement d'icelluy, et hors de soupçon de toutes les villennies par eux mises en auant."—*Bellforest, Jebb*, I., 532.

"Those slanderers feeling that they were getting the worst of it, withdrew, leaving the judges much edified with the Queen, and holding her guiltless and innocent of that murder, or of consent to it, and free from suspicion of all the villanies put forward by them."

"Les commissaires retournent par deuers Elizabeth et son Cōseil déclarèrent la Royne d'Escosse innocente de tous les cas et crimes à elle faulsement imposez par les accusateurs."—*Blackwood*, 622.

"Los juezes publicaren que la Reyna de Escocia era innocente de todos los crimines y pecados que era acusada por los rebeldes."

"Epistolis verò et carminibus (cum nomina, subscriptiones, notatio temporis deessent, et ubique plures sint falsarii qui aliorum characteres tam scite assimilare et exprimere norunt, ut veri ab Ementitis non internoscantur) Elizabetha vix fidem adhibuit licet muliebris æmulatio (quæ illum sexum transversissimum agit) intercesserit; satisque habuit quod ex his accusationibus aliquid probri Scotorum Reginæ adhæresceret."—*Camden*, I., 114.

"Maria a suspicione objectæ cædis, omnium qui aderant judicio, exempta est: immò in altero etiam conventu super eadem re indicto, rejecto in accusatores, Mortonum in primis atque Moravium, crimine, propius supplicio fuere, qui supplicium intentaverant."—*Strada*, *Febb*, II., 108.

"The commissioners who had returned to Elizabeth and her Council, declared the Queen of Scots innocent of all the charges and crimes falsely imputed to her by the accusers."

"The judges published that the Queen of Scots was innocent of all the crimes and excesses of which she was accused by the rebels."

"In reference to the letters and sonnets, as they had neither address, signature, nor date, and as there were many forgers so clever, that they imitated and counterfeited the writings of others with such accuracy, that the real could not be told from the false, Elizabeth did not put much reliance in them, although the jealousy of women which makes their sex so spiteful, drove her to credit them. She contented herself to see that the accusations cast a slur on the Queen of Scots."

"Mary was declared innocent of the murder of which she was accused, by all those who were present at the trial: much more, in another sitting held for the purpose, the crime was thrown back upon the accusers, especially on Morton and Moray; and those who had asked for punishment were most exposed to it."

Facts come to the support of words to proclaim the innocence of the Queen. Norfolk, the first of the judges, becomes attached to Mary Stuart, and dies for her in London; Lethington, the chief of the accusers, finds his death in Scotland while fighting for her; J. Balfour, who drew out the bond, for a long time traitor to the Queen, goes back to her in 1576; Morton expiates on the block the crime with which he loaded her; and Buchanan, the author of so many calumnies, wishes, at his death, that his libels had been given to the flames. *Camden*, 105; *Febb*, pref., and II., 61; *Hilarion de Coste*, II., 526; *Mackenzie*, III., 173.

§ II.—DEPOSITIONS OF THE ACCOMPLICES WHO WERE PUNISHED FOR HAVING TAKEN PART IN THE KING'S MURDER.

I have already stated, in reference to the origin of the letters, that Dalgleish protested, before dying, against the part he had been made to play: I shall say no more about that declaration, but at once deal with the confessions of Paris which most strongly accuse Mary Stuart.

The archivist Teulet has said of those confessions:

"As for those two documents themselves, which have reached us, the one by a copy of the period, the other by a copy, also cotemporary, and moreover authentic, it would be vain to try to contest the sincerity of the writers. They are both remarkable for an artlessness very difficult to counterfeit, and abound in minute and exact details, which the most perfect forger could never succeed in imitating or arranging."—*Teulet*, 80, note.

I dispute the sincerity of no one; but I deny the truth of the account, and I am far from finding in it that perfect exactness spoken of by the famous critic.

The origin of the confessions gives rise to doubts. Nicolas Hubert, so-called Paris, a refugee in Denmark, was handed over to Moray in October 1568 (*Hosack*, 245), and confined in Edinburgh Castle. Although it was he, it is said, who carried the letters from Mary to Bothwell, he was called to appear neither before the Council, to justify his commission, nor at the Westminster Conferences, where two, so to say, good-for-nothing witnesses were brought forward, Crawford and Nelson. After the Conferences, in August 1569, Elizabeth, learning that Moray had in his power a prisoner of so much importance, sent three times to ask him to give up Paris;

"but," says M. Wiesener, "the skilful man had foreseen the difficulty. As early as the 15th of August, Paris was hanged at St Andrews without trial. The Regent expressed his regret that the execution had taken place before the arrival of the letters of her Majesty; but I am confident, added he, that the testimony he has left will be found sufficiently authentic, that its value may not appear doubtful to your Majesty, nor to those to whom nature gives the most powerful reasons (the Lennoxes) to wish for the worthy punishment of the crime; and he sent the report of two examinations undergone by Hubert on the 9th and 10th of August 1569, incriminating: the first, Bothwell; the second, Mary Stuart, and in addition, Maitland of Lethington and Sir James Balfour, with whom Moray had lately quarrelled. The mention of their names in that document prepared the arrest of Maitland, which took place the same month."—*M. Wiesener*, 183.

The second confession was made

"in presence of Mr George Buchanan, Master of St Leonard's College, in St Andrews; Mr John Wood, Senator of the College of Justice; and Robert Ramsay, writer of this declaration, servant to My Lord Regent's Grace."—*Chalmers*, II., 343, note.

That is to say, vouched for by Moray's partisans alone. That is what may be safely called of very equivocal origin.

1st Confession.—This Confession clears Moray, and tends to blacken Bothwell as much as possible: he is accused of the crime which brought about the ruin of Sodom (85); Mary is not mentioned in the confession.

Pages 87 and 90. Bothwell orders Paris to get for him the keys of the Queen's chamber; and as the latter refuses, the brigand adds:

"J'ay des clefs assez sans toy."

"I have keys enough without you."

That behaviour on the part of Bothwell proves that Mary had nothing to do with the murder; for if she had had a hand in it, her

first thought would have been to give keys to those in her trust, without Bothwell needing to carry them off secretly. On the contrary, he had to get false keys and compare with the real ones ere he could hope to succeed in the enterprise. (*Diurnal*, 105.) Ormiston, who took part in the murder, says :

"He haid preparit xij falss keyis to haue opinit the lockis."—*Diurnal*, 338.

At page 87 it is said :

"Au bout d'une heure Marguerite me prie d'aller à Kirke of filde querir une couverture de martres à la chambre de la Reine."

"At the end of an hour Margaret desires me to go to Kirk of Field and fetch a sable coverlet that had been left in the Queen's chamber."

Teulet and M. Mignet, of several Academies, pretend that it was to save it from the disaster. Nothing proves it; and it is imprudent to draw, from that simple fact, so grave a consequence, because Mary might well deck with it the nuptial bed when the bride retired to rest. As has been seen in the text, the retiring to sleep was always attended with some solemnity. Probably Mary's chambermaid, who sent Paris for the coverlet, and got it from his hands, had no other intention; for supposing Mary wished only to save the article, she might have waited till the next day, as night had already set in (88), and as the murder was committed only during the following night. But this question raised by

"cette riche couverture en peaux de martre"— "that rich coverlet of sable"
M. Mignet

is the more worthless as the word "*martres*" does not exist: the manuscript and the printed form in Laing, II., 302, bear "*couverture de maytres*," and not "*martres*;" so that the matter is reduced to this: that Margaret Carwood sent Paris for a *master's* (handsome) coverlet, no doubt to deck the bed of those good servants who were being married at Holyrood. The word "*martres*" has been substituted for "*maytres*" by Teulet. The manuscript and Laing's text bear in two places "*maytres*," and not "*martres*."

Queen Mary's Inventory, 1561-1567, mentions no sable coverlet; yet there are found in the general list, coverlets, cushions, &c. The persons who know how minute those Inventories are, must attach some importance to that observation. Besides, we shall see later that Mary left at Kirk-of-Field things more precious still.

At page 90,

"Voicy Jehan Hepburn et Jehan Hay qui entrent en la chambre, là où j'estois, et por- " Here John Hepburn and John Hay enter the room where I was, and carry powder in

toient de la pouldre dedans des sacz qu'ils bags, which they put in the middle of the said misrent au milieu de la dicte chambre." chamber."

The same things are put in the mouth of John Hay and John Hepburn. (*Anderson*, II., 179, 186.) The cotemporaries have told the matter in quite another way. Birrel, relating the effect of the powder, says :

"The hous wes raiseit up from ground with pouder."—7.

The Diurnal of Occurrents :

"And blew the hous in the air, swa that thair remanit nocht ane stane vpoun ane vther vndestroyit."—106.

Cecil to Norrys :

"His lodging was razed with Gunpowder."—*Cabala*, 135.

Despite the confessions, cotemporaries are unanimous in saying that the damage was caused by a mine, and Buchanan himself owns it formally :

"they had undermynit the wall, and fillit the hoilis withe Gune-powder."—*Detection*, 70.

Melville :

He (Bothwell) "maid a train of pouder, or had maid ane of before, quhilk cam vnder the house wher the K. lay ; and in the nycht blew vp the said house with the pouder."—174.

"It has been clearly seen that this unhappy affair was caused by a mine underground."—*Clernauld, reports in Von Raumer and Chalmers*.

"And yet more particularly," writes Goodall, "the Earl of Morton's Inditement bears that the powder had been a little before placed and put in by him and his accomplices under the ground and angular stones, and within the vaults and low and dern places of the lodging, with which it was blown up, as is said in the act of privy council, 'with such force and vehemency, that of the whole lodging, walls and others, there was nothing left unruined and reduced to dross, to the very ground stone,' which a heap of powder in the floor of the Queen's chamber could not have done."—I., 147.

The confession is then incorrect.

As regards the powder, some people say that Mary was dreadfully stupid to wish to kill Darnley by means of it. It makes, they say, too much noise, and there were other ways of reaching the same end ; others say that the great noise was made intentionally by the Queen's enemies, to defame her, and lay at her door a crime of which they were themselves the authors. Is it possible to reason like the latter ? Who does not see, on the contrary, that Mary by choosing powder, wished, by a remnant of commiseration, to kill Darnley in an honourable manner, and make up by the noise of the explosion for the rounds of artillery, which the nobles never would have fired at the burial of him whom they called "a tyrant and a young fool ?"

Paris continues :

"En ce faysant, voicy Monsieur de Boduel qui survient et parle à eux dysant : Mon Dieu, que vous faictes de bruit ! on oyt d'en hault tout ce que vous faictes."

"While doing this, My Lord Bothwell comes in and speaks to them, saying : My God, what a noise you are making ! People hear above all that you are doing."

Nine lines higher up Paris said that, above, in the King's chamber, "were the Queen and some of her lords," among others Argyll, Bothwell's accomplice. That reproof from Bothwell to his servants confirms what I have said about the Queen's innocence.

Second Confession.

At page 94 it is said :

"La Royne estant arryivée à Glasgow luy dict (à Paris) : vous direz de bouche à M. de Boduel qu'il baille ces lettres qui s'adressent à Mr. de Lethington, à luy-mesme, et qu'il parle à luy."

"The Queen having arrived in Glasgow, said to him (Paris) : You shall tell My Lord Bothwell by word of mouth that he is to give the letters addressed to Mr Lethington to him personally, and to speak to him."

I have already proved that "Monsieur de Boduel" was not in Edinburgh, and that the letters cannot have been given to him : all that passage is false.

Malcolm Laing thought he could get out of the difficulty by saying that Bothwell left Edinburgh only on the 25th, to go with Lethington to the Whittingham Conference, and that they came back together on the 28th, and that, to conceal the interview, the period of Bothwell's departure was antedated, while giving Liddesdale as the place they were going to. A very awkward explanation, for, if such be the case, what reliance can be placed on the documents presented by Moray, since the famous diary itself, written, as is said, day by day, had been tampered with ? The explanation is inadmissible, for Drury wrote to Cecil on the 23d of January :

"The Lord Morton lyeth at the Lord of Whittingham's, where the Lord Bothwell and Lethington came of late to visit." Drury to Cecil.—*Hosack*, 208, note.

At page 97 Paris says

"que Monsieur Boduel luy avoit dict que toutes les nuyts Jehan Hepburn feroit le guet sous les galleries à Sainte-Croix, cependant que Lady Reires yroit bien tard le querir pour l'amener à la chambre de la Royne, luy défendant assavoir à Paris, sur la vie de dire que sa femme estoit avecques luy."

"that Bothwell had told him that every night John Hepburn would watch under the galleries at Holyrood, while Lady Reires would go very late in the night to fetch him to the Queen's chamber, forbidding him (Paris) on his life to say that his (Bothwell's) wife was with him."

It is perhaps time to say who was this Lady Reres spoken of in the Glasgow letters, and who plays a part so abominable in the Detection.

Buchanan seems to have drawn from his cynical imagination the most filthy words to describe that woman,

"quæ ætate inclinata a meretricio quæstu ad lenonium se contulerat," &c.

"quha now in hir age, had from the gayne of huredome, betakin herself to the craft of bawderie," &c.

"qui desia venant sur l'aage, auoit changé le gain de ses paillardises en maquereillage," &c.

She was a niece of Cardinal Beaton (*Miss Strickland*, III., 197, note), a name little relished by the Reformers, and of nearly the same age as Mary Stuart, for she became a mother at the same time in Edinburgh Castle (*Bannat. Memor.*, 174). She was likely the nurse of the young Prince; it is certain, at least, that to her care was entrusted the education of the child, as we see in a note taken from the treasurer's register, and published by Miss Strickland (II., 340). Bothwell had her restored to her post beside the Queen by Lady Coldingham, his sister. Lady Reres was annoyed at it, but she never accused the Queen; and neither the Scottish lords nor the English commissioners questioned her about Mary's relations with Bothwell, which they would not have failed to do if Reres had played the part Buchanan assigns her.

At page 98, Paris again alludes to the conversation he had with Bothwell,

"au trou où il se deschachoit pour faire ses affaires."

"in the place where he relieved nature,"

and tells that

"le jour que Monsieur de Boduel luy avoit communiqué le faict du meurtre du Roy, qui fust le mesme jour que la Royne couchast au logis du Roy à Kirk-of-Field (ainsi comme il s'en souvient fort bien), comme ledict Paris vouloit dresser le lit de la Royne en sa chambre, qui estoit droicte sous la chambre du Roy ledict sieur de Boduel defendist audict Paris de ne dresser le lit de la Royne droict sous le lit du Roy, 'car je y veulx mettre la pouldre en cest endroyt-là.'"

"on the day that Bothwell had told him of the plot to murder the King, which was the same day as the Queen slept at the King's residence at Kirk-of-Field (as he well remembers), when the said Paris wanted to make the Queen's bed in her chamber, which was right under the King's chamber the said Lord Bothwell forbade the said Paris to make the Queen's bed under the King's bed, 'for I wish to put the powder in that place.'"

That reflection "comme il s'en souvient fort bien" comes in very suitably, as, but for it, one might think poor Paris had lost his memory, because there are two depositions which contradict him in the dates, and several documents which prove that, till the last, Mary occupied her room at Kirk-of-Field. The first deposition is by Hepburn, who carried the powder to Kirk-of-Field. It says that :

"within twa dais before ye murther, yat the said Erle changed purpois of the slaying of the King one the feildes, because yan it wald be knawn, and schew to yame quhat way it mycht be usit better be ye pulder."—*Anderson*, II., 184.

The second is that of Powrie, who relates in detail how the powder was brought by the said Hepburn, on the Saturday, two days before the murder. (*Idem*, *ibidem*, 165-173.) Let us pass over that, and merely say that there is contradiction. What Paris fixes for the 5th, was thought of only on the 7th. (Hay of Tallo, *Anderson*, II., 178.)

In the same page, Paris says :

"Je prins la hardiesse de lui (à Marie) dire : Madame, Monsieur de Bodwell m'a commandé de lui porter les clefs de vostre chambre et qu'il a envie d'y faire quelque chose, c'est de faire sauter le Roy en l'air par pouldre qu'il y fera mettre. 'Ne me parle point de cela à ceste heure-cy,' ce dict-elle. 'Fais-en ceque tu voudras.'"

"I was bold enough to tell her (Mary) : Madam, my Lord Bothwell has ordered me to take him the keys of your room, and to tell you that he intends to blow up the King by means of powder, which he will have placed there. 'Do not speak to me of that at this hour,' said she. 'Do as you please.'"

Very good. Here Paris is not in contradiction with the other condemned, but with himself. The day before, he related how he managed to get the keys without the Queen being aware of it (p. 87) ; one page further on, he says :

"Le Sieur de Boduel ayant fait sortir tout le monde de sa chambre, prend la clef d'ung coffre, qu'il avait en sa pochette, et, après avoir ouvert le dict coffre, en tire des autres clefs contrefaictes, toutes neufves, et les regardant les unes auprès des aultres, dict à Paris . 'Ah ! oui, elles sont bien. Raporte celles là.' Et il remeist les contrefaictes dedans le coffre."

"My Lord Bothwell having sent everybody out of his room, takes the key of a box from his pocket, and opening the said box, lifts from it other false keys, quite new, and comparing them together, says to Paris : 'Yes, they are all right. Take back those.' And he put the false ones back into the box."

The contradiction which is found in the confessions of Paris, and the false keys, prove that Mary knew nothing of the conspiracy.

At page 99, Paris pretends that he was back in Glasgow on Friday morning (24th January), after taking a letter to Bothwell. I ask M. Mignet and the Queen's enemies to explain the wonderful feat.

At page 100, it is said :

"Cependant que Paris estoit absent avecques ses clefs, Archibald Bethon, huyssier, demande les clefs pour laisser sortir la Royne au jardin ; et ne les pouvant trouver, la Royne en fust fashée et dict tout haut à Paris à son retour : 'Paris, pourquoy avez-vous emporté les clefs de ma chambre ?' Lequel ne lui respondit mot sur l'heure, mais après, la trouvant à part, luy dist : 'Ha ! Madame, pourquoy

"While Paris was absent with her keys, Archibald Bethon, usher, asks the keys to let the Queen out into the garden ; and not being able to find them, the Queen was annoyed, and said aloud to Paris, on his return . 'Paris, why did you take away the keys of my room ?' He made no answer at the time, but later on, finding her alone, said to her : 'Ha ! Madame, why did you tell me, before everybody, that I

m'avez-vous dict devant tout le monde que j'avois pris les clefs de vostre chambre, voyant que vous scavez bien le pourquoy?' 'Ha!' ce dict-elle, 'Paris, c'est tout un; ne te soucie, ne te soucie.'"

had taken the keys of your chamber, when you well know the reason?' 'Ha!' said she, 'Paris, it is all one; never mind, never mind.'"

A more than doubtful scene: it is unlikely that the Queen, who well knew she had lent the keys to Bothwell, should wish to go out into the garden, and thus give rise to suspicions at a later period. She would, more likely, remain quietly at home, so as not to attract notice; it is still less likely that she should have got angry at Paris, and asked him why he had taken away the keys. The *simple fellow* might have bluntly told her the reason before everybody, and then what a scene! Besides, the fact proves that Paris was touchy in his honour; for fear of passing in the Queen's eyes for a thief, he reminded her that she herself gave him the keys to put things in train for the murder of her husband.

In the same page, Paris affirms

"que la Royne dist, en presence de ceulx de sa chambre, qu'il y avoit eu quelque querelle entre le Roy et Monsieur de Sainte-Croix; lequel avoit bon moyen à ceste heure-là de tuer le Roy, car il n'y avoit en la chambre alors qu'elle pour les departir."

"that the Queen said, in presence of those of her chamber, that there had been a quarrel betwixt the King and my Lord of Holyrood; who, at that time, had a good chance to kill the King, for there was then in the room, no one but her to make them give up."

The fact was so, but it is falsely presented. It results from the statement of Paris, that Mary stood a motionless witness of the quarrel. That attitude on Mary's part is contradicted by Buchanan:

"Sed, cum uterque jam manum capulo ad-moveret, Regina, velut metuens ne fieret quod expetebat, Moravium alterum fratrem advocat: ut illi quoque vel in præsencia exitium, vel in posterum crimen strueret."—*Detectio*.

"Bot quhil thay wer baith laying thair handis on thair wappinis, the Quene fenzeing as thoct sho had bene perrillously effrayit of that quhilk sho earnestly desyrit, callit the Erle of Murray, hir uthir brother, to the parting, to this intent, that scho nicht outhir presentlie bring him in danger to be slane himself, or in Tyme to cum to beir the blame of sic mischief as then nicht haue happinit."—*Detection*, 19.

I have related the fact in the course of the work.

At page 102, Paris relates a conversation which he had with the Queen in her room of mourning:

"Le dict Paris estant entré en sa chambre, la Royne lui demanda: 'Paris, qu'as-tu?' 'Hélas!' ce dit-il, 'Madame, je vois que chascun me regarde de costé.' 'Ne te chaille,' ce dit-elle, 'je te feray bon visage; personne ne t'oseroyt dire mot.'"

"The said Paris having entered her chamber, the Queen asked him: 'Paris, what ails you?' 'Alas!' said he, 'Madam, I see that every one looks upon me with contempt.' 'Do not grieve,' said she, 'I shall be kind to you; no one would dare to say a word to you.'"

That is belied by the facts related in the text, and is in absolute contradiction with what Clernault and Killigrew tell us of Mary's reserve.

In the same page :

"Elle ne luy (a Paris) dict chose de conséquence jusques à ce qu'elle vouloyt aller à Seton . . . luy commanda de prendre dans son coffre des bagues et le faire porter au chasteau et le delyvrer entre les mains de Monsieur de Skirling, pour lors capitaine soubz Monsieur de Boduel ; chose qu'il feist."

"She said nothing of consequence to him (Paris) until she wished to go to Seton . . . she ordered him to take some rings out of her box, and to carry them to the castle and deliver them into the hands of Skirling, then captain under My Lord Bothwell ; which was done."

People who would speak ill of their neighbours would say bluntly that Paris is a liar, or that the forgers are bunglers. It is bad enough when they only accuse the Queen vaguely, and put in her mouth words which she did or did not utter ; but why give names ? The Queen may have said strange things, but, however willing we may be, we cannot give in to gross absurdities. So, for example, with reference to the "Monsieur de Skirling, pour lors Capitaine soubz Monsieur de Boduel," in all languages people would call that an anachronism, seeing that before the "Queen wished to go to Seton, it was not Skirling, but My Lord Mar who was captain." Those two particulars exclude each other.

Drury, an Englishman, writes on the 17th of February :

"The Queen, this last night lay the Lord Seyton's."—*Chalmers*, I., 322.

The same date is given by the *Diurnal of Occurrents*,

"Upoun the sextene day of the said moneth of Februar, our souerane ladie past fra Halyrudhous to Seytoun."—106.

And Skirling was appointed captain only on the 21st.

"The 21 of this moneth, the Castell of Edinburgh wes randred to Cockburn of Stirlinge, at ye Quein's command."—*Birrel*, 7.

"Vpon the twentie ane day of the said moneth, John erle of Mar, havand the Castell of Edinburgh in his handis, deliuerit the samyn to our souerane ladie, quha causit schir James Colburne of Scarling ressaue the samin and maid Capitane thairof."—*Diurnal*, 107.

Therefore, despite the approving *ita est* of Master Alexander Hay, scribe of the Secret Council and Moray's trusty man, we shall make free to say that the passage is false, wholly false ; that Paris never could dictate it, seeing that he, knowing to whom he had handed the rings, could not have made so gross a mistake.

At page 103,

"Paris dict et déclare qu'environ le temps que ledict Sieur de Boduel fust faict duc, la Roynie lui baillast le buffet et vesselle d'argent de Monsieur le Prince, la où estoyent ses armoyries, pour la porter à Mr de Boduel."

"Paris says and declares that about the time when the said Lord Bothwell was made Duke, the Queen gave him the Prince's silver plate, on which were his arms, to take to My Lord Bothwell."

In the Detection, published and circulated, as is known, under the safeguard of Elizabeth, there is written :

"Vasa argentea, quibus a nuptiis ad eum usque diem usus erat, aufert universa ac stan-nea supponit."—*Detectio* and *Historia Buchanani*, xvii.

"All his (Darnley's) silver plait quhairwith he was seruit from his Mariage till that day, scho tuke it away everie quhit, and appoyntit Peewder in the steid thairof."—15.

In the Book of Articles, presented under oath by Moray at the York Conferences, there is written :

"She causit hir Mr houshald and vthers hir officiaris tak fra him all the plaitt and siluer veschell that wes appointed for him the tyme of there mariage, and quhilk had bene occupyit for his vse and service continewalie thaireftir, and in place thairof gard deliuer pewder platiss and veschell."—Pars I.

Let the reader choose whichever opinion seems more likely. If he judge from the text of Paris, the second opinion ought to be thrown overboard, while the charge brought by Moray at the Westminster Conferences must be considered a slander, the more wretched as it has been supported in a Court of Law ; if he make up his mind to stand by Moray's accusation, it must be granted that the confession of Paris, so overwhelming to the Queen, is a worthless document. (Cf., *M. Wiesener*, 146 ; *Jefferies*, I., 530.)

At page 104,

"Paris dict et confesse que, la nuyt auparavant que la Royne fust ravie et enlevée dudict Sieur de Boduel, que Monsieur d'Ormistoun vint parler à la Royne bien secrètement à Lythgow. La dessus la Royne rescript une lettre par ledict Paris ; et . . . Paris trouvant ledict Sieur de Boduel endormy, l'esveille et luy dict : 'Monsieur, voilà des lettres que la Royne vous envoie.' 'He bien, Paris,' ce dit-il, 'couche toy là ung peu ; cependant je m'en vays escrire.' Et après avoir escript, il dit audict Paris : 'Recommandez moy humblement à Sa Majesté, et luy dictes que j'iray aujourd'huy la trouver sur le chemin au pont.'"

"Paris says and confesses that, in the night before the Queen was ravished and carried off by My Lord Bothwell, Ormiston came to speak to the Queen very secretly at Linlithgow. Thereupon the Queen sent another letter by the said Paris ; and . . . Paris finding the said Lord Bothwell asleep, awakes him and says to him : 'My Lord, here are letters that the Queen sends you.' 'Well, Paris,' says he, 'lie down there for a little ; meanwhile I shall write.' And after having written, he said to the said Paris : 'Commend me humbly to her Majesty, and tell her that I shall go to-day to meet her on the road at the bridge.'"

That interview of Ormiston must indeed have been *very secret*, for Ormiston himself never heard of it. When he appeared in 1573 at the bar, he was questioned as to the part he had taken in Darnley's murder. When asked what he knew of the Queen's share in the matter, he answered :

"As I shall answer to God, shoe never spake to me, nor I to her of it, nor I know nathing of hir part, but as my Lord Bothwell shew me."—*Pitcairn*, I., 511.

The promise of Bothwell to go and meet Mary "on the road at the

bridge," cannot be let pass. The confession of Paris, as may have been seen, is full of inaccuracies and falsehoods, and is by itself worthy of no belief. Moreover, according to the Queen's enemies, Bothwell kept carefully the letters which the Queen sent him. How is it that all the letters are now safe except the one which was most compromising and most precise, seeing that it fixed the day and place of the abduction, and that it was the last written? That reflection is M. Wiesener's (353), and I think it a serious one.

In the same page Paris confesses that

"La Royne luy dict : 'Paris, il faut que tu controuves quelque chose en ton esprit pour faire peur à Joseph, afin qu'il s'en aille.' Et voyant qu'il ne pouvoit rien faire, elle luy dit : 'Je feray faire une lettre que tu perdras derrière luy pour luy faire peur.'"

"The Queen said to him : 'Paris, you must invent something to frighten Joseph, so that he should go away.' And seeing he could think of nothing, she said to him : 'I shall have a letter drawn out which you will drop behind him to frighten him.'"

The end is worthy of the work ; that made-up story is quite false. This is the truth : "Joseph Lutyni is anxious to go back to his country, and Mary gives him (6th January) a safe-conduct, in due form and very favourable." (*Prince Labanoff*, I., 392.) Meanwhile, Mary was robbed by one of her household—by whom, she knew not. Joseph Riccio, being compromised, could think of nothing better than to accuse Lutyni, hoping perhaps that he had already gained the Continent, and that the trick would remain unknown. Mary wrote at once to the Provost of Berwick to arrest the guilty one. (*P. Labanoff*, I., 394, 17th January.) That was the more easily done as Lutyni had fallen ill at Berwick. Riccio, frightened, then wrote a letter full of fear to his friend, begging him not to unfold the mystery.

"Pigliate guardia voi che la conoscete, pigliate guardia che non v'abbuzi delle sue parole, come voi sapete bene; e m' ha detto che vuol parlare a voi un segreto, et pigliate delli dire come vi ho scritto, et non altramente, etc. . . . Vi prego di bruiar la littera appresso che voi l'havete letta."—*Tytler*, III., 411.

"Take care, you who know her, take care lest she entrap you by her fine words, as you well know. I have been told she wishes to speak to you in secret. Take care to speak to her in the sense in which I write to you, and not otherwise, etc. . . . I beg you will burn the letter after reading it."

The reader now knows enough on the subject to give his judgment, and say what faith can be put in the wretchedly stated case, a Gothic work studded over with absurdities, anachronisms and other blunders. There might still be many remarks made on the confessions taken as a whole ; but I leave them aside, persuaded as I am that I have said enough. I shall note only that the names of Morton, the plotter, Moray and Archibald Douglas, are seldom or never mentioned in the confessions, while the unfortunate Blaccader or Blacater, whom his contemporaries held to be

innocent, is incriminated. (*Marioreybanks, Herries, Craufurd's Memoirs, Birrel, Diurnal of Occurrents.*) The reason those names were left out is not beyond being understood: a miracle of forgetfulness was not needed to bring about that marvel.

Fragments of Various Confessions.

Lest I should weary the reader with this dissertation, I shall quote only the more striking passages of the other confessions. People wonder why those who think so much of the confessions of Paris, have said nothing about those of the two Blaccaders, Edmonston and Fraser, who were, however, "put in the irons and torments for discovering the verity." Calderwood MS., *Chalmers*, III., 484. The rule must have been to publish only those confessions which attacked the Queen.

Nelson's confession is, after that of Paris, the most damaging to the Queen. It says:

"The King past directlie to the duikis hous thinking it to be the lugeing preparit for him; bot the contrare wes then schawin to him be the Quene, quha convoyit him to the uthir hous."—*Anderson*, IV., ii., 165.

The Book of Articles confirms the deposition (III. Part), and gives, word for word, the frightful description which Buchanan gave of the house in which the King dwelt.

Lord Herries does not speak of that adventure, but perhaps alludes to it when he says about the King's entrance into Kirk-of-Field:

"Many circumstances are sett doune by Buchanan to make the Queen accessorie to the murther, which was done in this hous, which are all condemned as forged, or maliciouslie applied, by other wryters of calmer temper."—83.

Blackwood turns, against the Queen's enemies, the reproach which they make her of not having lodged the King at the residence of the Duke of Chatellerault; and he assures his readers that Moray pointed out to her the house where the murder was to take place. (*Æuv.*, comp. 563.)

Nelson continues:

"The shalmir wes hung and ane new bed of blak figurat welwet standing thairin. . . . She (Mary) causit tak down the said new blak bed, sayand it wald be sulyeit with the bath, and in the place thairof sett upe ane auld purple bed that wes accustomat to be carit."—*Anderson*, ibidem, 166.

There is, then, the question, 1st, of a black bed, quite new, removed from the King's chamber; 2d, of an old purple bed put in its place. The black bed mentioned by Nelson is described in the Inventory of Queen Mary's goods:

"Ane bed of black figurit veluot."—49, No. 3.

It came from the pillage of the Castle of Strathbougie, 1562. It was therefore not new : first error. Then that same bed had been restored, before the catastrophe, to the rightful owners, as witness this note in the Inventorie :

"Deliuierit quhen the Quene wes at Hammyltoun (August 1565)."

The bed put up for him was, on the contrary, quite new ; and one cannot understand how Nelson could make such a mistake. At page 19 of the Inventories, No. 7, we read :

"Item, ane bed of violett broun veluot (pasmentit with a pasment maid of gold and siluer) furnissit with ruif head pece and pandis and thre vnder pandis. Off the quhilkis vnder pandis thair is ane bot half pasm(entis) and the courtingis of violett dames without frenyeis or passnent vp(on) the same courtingis."

"In August 1566, the Quene gaif this bed to the King furnist with all thingis, and in Februar 1567 the said bed wes tint in his ludgeing."

That note of the time is corroborated by this other particular of the objects lost at Kirk-of-Field :

"Premièrement, ung lictz de veloux violet à double pante passemante d'or et d'argent, garny de boys, paillasse, mattellas, trauersin et vne couuert de taffetas bleu piquée et deux aultre couuert et ung orrillier et enuelope."—177.

We gather from the foregoing texts that if Mary caused a bed to be taken to Kirk-of-Field, instead of the one already prepared, it was the King's own bed : a touching mark of her love and care for him.

The Book of Articles, which adopts Nelson's version, gives in connection with this subject a hideous description of the house

"preparit for his (King's) distructioun, quhilk was vnmeit in all respectis for ony honest man to luge in . . . ruynous waist and not inhabite be ony of a long time before."—*Book of Art.*, pars. iii.

"Small, narrow, badly kept," says M. Mignet.

Moray ought to have known, and M. Mignet ought to have learned, that the house was not so uninhabitable and so ill kept. It was, on the contrary, decorated in the finest style. Besides the bed of which I have spoken, there were sofas, Turkey carpets, and sixteen pieces of tapestry, the designs of several of the latter being thought of very highly. (*Inventories*, 33, 39, 51, 177, 178.) One is astonished, after that, to find M. Mignet taunting Mary with having had "taken away on the eve of the explosion the articles which she did not wish destroyed" (I., 440). Science or conscience is at fault with the Secretary of the Academy of *Moral Sciences* ! !

Instead of accusing the Queen, John Hepburn went directly against the views of his judges, when he said :

"Quhen yai war changing ye pulder furth of the tronks in polks, My Lord (Bothwell) come and speirit, gyf all was redy, and bad yame haist before the Queene come furth of the Kingis house, for gyf she come furth before yai ware reddy, yai wald not find sic commodity."—*Anderson*, II., 185.

Six years after, Ormiston, tried for Darnley's murder, confessed that Bothwell had said to him to stifle his scruples :

"I sall let you see sumething that I had for me, wha then let me see ane contract subscrivit be four or fyve hand writtis whilk he affirmed to me was the subscription of the Earl of Huntly, Argyll, secretar, and Sir J. Balfour."—*Pitcairn's Crim. Trials*, I., 511 ; *Chalmers*, II., 452 ; *Diurnal*, 338.

La Mothe Fénelon completes the list by the name of Morton :

"Le comte de Morthon a naguyères fait executer un hermestran (Ormiston) qui a chargé le Comte d'Honteley, Baffour, le feu Comte d'Arguil, et le mesme Morton, d'estre copables de la mort du feu Roy d'Escosse."—*Corresp. diplom.*, VI., 5.

"The Earl of Morton lately had executed one Ormiston, who charged the Earl of Huntly, Balfour, the late Earl of Argyll, and this same Morton, with being guilty of the death of the late King of Scotland."

Goodall thinks that Morton, who guided everything, may have had his name struck out from the list of the guilty (I., 392). Be that as it may, we learn from the historian, Carte, "that great care was taken to smother this confession."—*Carte*, III., 531 ; quoted in Chalmers.

All the criminals, Paris himself, when at the point of death, declared the Queen's innocence. The confessions were sure to have had great weight, had they not been tampered with ; but the dread of torture and the hope of life may drive unfortunate prisoners to swerve from the truth. In presence of death, absence of mind is gone ; the most timid, having nothing to risk or lose, raise the voice with unflinching courage. Those confessions made in a dungeon, or before a bribed or lying tribunal, have been changed ; but the last words remain to us, and they are enough.

"Quelques ungs (des principaux serviteurs du Conte de Baudouel) confessèrent bien avoir mérité la mort, déclarant l'innocence de la Royne, et accusent les plus grands et principaux de son conseil (Moray's) qui assistoient lors avec luy, et mesmes le conte de Morthon, et le Secrétaire Ledington, et Balfour, qui estoit Capitaine du Chasteau de Lislebourg, et le dit Conte leur maistre (Bothwell) en Danemar."—Archbishop of Glasgow to Card. de Lorraine, *Stevenson*, 306, 307.

"Some (of the principal servants of the Earl of Bothwell) confessed that they had well deserved death, declaring the innocence of the Queen, and accusing the greatest and principal men among his council (Moray's) who then were present with him, and even the Earl of Morton, the secretary Lethington, Balfour, who was Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, and the said Earl, their master (Bothwell) in Denmark."

"Fecero impiccare alcune povere persone, al numero di 5 o 6, le quali, non ostante cosa che questi scellerati impostori havessero fatto per subornarle, andando alla morte, scaricarono la Regina del sudetto peccato, et accusarono li complici del detto conte di Murray, perseverando in questo proposito sino alla morte, senza mai in modo alcuno mutarlo o variarlo, di che tutto il Regno di Scotia è testimonio; cosa che ha interamente posta la innocenza di sua Maestà fuor d'ogni dubio."—*Successo della Regina et Regno di Scotia, Prince Labanoff, VII., 322.*

"They had 5 or 6 wretches seized, who, notwithstanding all that those rascally impostors had done to suborn them, cleared, on their way to death, the Queen, of that crime, and accused the accomplices of the Earl of Moray, and held to that statement until death, without ever varying or changing it in any way. All the kingdom of Scotland is a witness to it, and that event has placed, beyond a doubt, the innocence of her Majesty."

Those two texts are taken from the correspondence of the period, and are confirmed by most of the historians who lived at that time. Several were witnesses of the facts which they state, and they appeal to the whole Scottish nation to bear out the truth of their accounts. A collective letter, signed by seventeen members of the Scottish nobility, several of whom had had a hand in the various plots which preceded and followed Darnley's murder, proves that :

"thame quha sufferit deid thairfor, declarit at all times, the Quene to be innocent thairfor."—*Goodall, II., 359.*

"We can tel you, and so can five thousand and moe of their owne hearing, that John Hepborne, the Earle of Bothwel's seruant, being executed for his and yoor traitorous facte, did openly say and testefie, as he should answer to the contrarie before God, that you were the principal authors, counsailers and assisters, with his master, of this execrable murther, and that his said master so tolde him, and farthermore, that he himself had sene the Indentures we spake of. We can tel you that John Haye of Galloway, that Powry, that Dowglish, and last of al, that Paris, al being put to death for this crime, toke God to recorde, at the tyme of their death, that this murther was by your counsayle, invention and drift committed, who also declared that they neuer knew the Queene to be participant or ware thereof."—*J. Lesley's Defense, 76, 77; Bishop Keith, 367.*

"Paris, at the time of his said execution, tooke it vpon his death, as he should answer before God, that he neuer caried any such letters, nor that the Queene was participant, nor of counsayle in the cause."—*Lesley's Defense, 19.*

That writing, as well as Belleforest's (*Jebb, I.*) appeared at the same time as the Detection, and the facts which they relate, were held to be authentic and so well proved, that the authors take to witness on the subject, the whole Scottish nation.

Blackwood (p. 615) and the author of the little book, "Maria Stuarta innocens," affirm the same thing. The grave Camden brought in these confessions in his history :

"Mox Moravius supplicium sumit de Joanne Hepburno, Paride Gallo, Daglisho et aliis Bothwellii famulis qui Regis cædi intererant. Sed illi, quod minimè expectavit, ad patibulum

"Soon Moray punished with death, John Hepburn, Paris, the Frenchman, Dalgleish, and other servants of Bothwell, who had had a hand in the murder of the King. But they,

coram Deo et angelis protestati sunt se ex Bothwellio intellexisse Moravium et Mortonium Regicidii autores fuisse, Reginam ab omni suspicione exemerunt."—I., 118.

against his expectation, protested on the scaffold, before God and the angels, that Moray and Morton were the authors of the King's death; they cleared the Queen of all suspicion."

A short sarcastic rhyme, which greatly tickled the fancy of the people, and roused the anger of Moray's partisans, makes mention of the same facts :

"As Hepburn, Dagleish, Powry, too, John Hay made up the messe :
Which four, when they were put to death, the treason did confesse :
And said that Murray, Morton, too, with others of their rowte,
Were guyltie of the murder vile, though now they loke full stout.
Yet some perchance do think that I speake for affection here ;
Though I would 3000 can herein true witnes beare ;
Who present were, as well as I, at th' execution tyme,
And heard how these, in conscience prickt, confessed who did the cryme."

Tom trouth, *Chalmers*, III., 400.

Lastly, one of the accomplices, Archibald Douglas, wrote from London in 1586, to Queen Mary :

"As to the abominable murder, it is known too by the depositions of many persons that were executed to the death for the committing thereof, that the same was executed by them, and at the command of such of the nobility, as had subscrivit band for that effect."—*Robertson, App.*

Morton's nephew wrote those lines; and far from accusing the Queen, he sought only to clear himself in her eyes.

§ III.—*The attitude assumed by the Earl of Lennox and his family.*

It may be well to tell the natural bent of this Earl of Lennox who did so much to harm Mary Stuart, after she became his daughter-in-law. To avenge the slight which he felt on being refused the hand of the Queen-dowager Regent of Scotland, Lennox embraced, heart and soul, the English side, and headed a numerous army, with the view of ruining his country, (*State Papers of Scotland, Henry VIII., Agreement, 4th Sept. 1545*), a portion of which he handed over to the English, (*Balfour, I., 281, 282*). For that exploit, he was declared a traitor to his country. (*Sadler's Papers, I., 198; Lesley de Rebus Scot., 470*). In his expedition,

"he was forsaken by several Scots whom he had forced to recognize the sovereignty of England and give up to him twelve children as hostages. On his return to Carlisle, the monster seized the children and had eleven of them hanged. The twelfth had the rope round his neck, when the soldier who was to execute him became sickened, and would not go on (*Miss Strickland, Herries, Tytler.*) . . . Having again invaded his country, he seemed to sack in preference the castles where lived his father-in-law or those which had sheltered the childhood of his wife. He felt all his life the gall and fury of unsatiated covetousness."—*M. Wiesener, 68.*

In the month of May 1551, this same Lennox again appears in the attempted poisoning of the little Mary by Robert Stuart. (*Teulet*, I., 260-270.)

Returning to Scotland during the reign of Mary Stuart, he came to Holyrood, "where he was graciously received by the Queen's Majesty." (*Knox, Reform.*, V., 321.)

"And in a parliament called to that effect in January next, had the process of forfeiture laid against him, whilst the duke was governor, reduced and so restored to his lands and possessions after twenty-two years' exile."—*Spottiswoode*, II., 25.

The traitor becomes a conspirator. Instead of rightly guiding his son, whom the good pleasure of the Queen had just raised to the highest honour, he urges him on to demand the crown-matrimonial, and, in short, plays so unworthy a part that his royal daughter-in-law, her patience at an end, said in a moment of exasperation, that it would have been better "that he had not set foot in Scotland for her days." (*Miss Strickland*, II., 220.)

The following passage in a letter from Randolph to Leicester shows how Lennox meant to act :

"I know that there are practices in hand, contrived between the father and son, to come by the crown against her (Mary's) will. I know that if that take effect which is intended, David, with the consent of the King, shall have his throat cut."—*Tytler*, III., 215.

Two pages further on, the historian Tytler tells us that it was Lennox himself who went to England to get Moray's signature.

"Having so far organised the conspiracie, it remained to communicate it to Moray, and for this purpose, the King's father, the Earl of Lennox, repaired to England."—*Tytler*, III., 217.

But he who had been able to form a conspiracy against the Queen's secretary, was unable to foresee or check the one which at the same time was being formed against his son. Darnley is killed ; and what was the attitude of the Earl of Lennox ? It is crushing to his memory. On the 11th of February, the very day after the murder, Mary, according to Moray's own diary (*Anderson*, II., 273), wrote to Lennox, promising him that justice should be done, and begging of him to come to the Court, that they might consult together as to the means of finding out the truth. Mary sent the letter to her father-in-law by an express messenger. Lennox said "he would consider about it ;" and after having detained the messenger the whole night, he sent him away, saying, "Her Majesty's letter requires no answer." (*Miss Strickland*, III., 208.)

What had he to consider about ? While that unworthy father was coolly *considering*, Mary was acting in earnest, and, as I have already

said, there may be seen in the Register House, Edinburgh (*Hopetoun MS.*, 239), the confessions of several persons examined on the 11th of February.

The attitude of Lennox was the same until the 20th. Ten days had passed since the murder was committed, and the old *considerer* had not yet given his opinion. He gave it at length on the 20th; but he asked that all the Nobles and States of Scotland should be called together, not doubting that with the grace of God all-powerful, and the help of the Holy Ghost, the murderers should be recognised. (*Bishop Keith*, 369, 370.)

The proposal was absurd; Mary, however, replied that she thanked him, and that she had already convoked the Parliament.

“For the essemble of the Nobilitie and Estaitis, quhilk ze advise ws to caus be convenit, for a perfite triall to be had of the King our husbandis cruell slauchter, it is indeid convenient that sua suld be; and evin, shortlie before the receipt of zour lettre, we had causit proclame a Parlement, at the quhilk we doubt not bot thay all, for the maist part, sall be present.”—*Bishop Keith*, 370.

As his daughter-in-law had anticipated him, Lennox, on the 26th, departed from the request he had made on the 20th. He thought that too much time might pass before the meeting of Parliament, that it was better to act quickly—to convoke the Nobles without delay, to imprison those whom the placards denounced as guilty, and, by a proclamation, to invite the authors of the placards to come forward, and if no one came, to release those who had been arrested. (Houston, 26th February.—*Bishop Keith*, 371.)

Mary in her reply told him that he was wrong as to her intentions; that she did not mean to put off the trial until the end of the session of Parliament, but, that she, on the contrary, wished to act as soon as possible; that she could not agree with him about calling the Nobles together at once, as that would cause a double removal; and, moreover, that the trial was not properly an affair for Parliament. As to the arrest of those whose names were placarded, she answered there were so many contradictory placards that she knew not by which she ought to be guided; but that if among the names mentioned there were any which he, Lennox, suspected particularly, she begged him to let her know them; assuring him that she would proceed against them, according to the laws of the kingdom, and punish them severely if they were found guilty. She desired him, in conclusion, to let her know his opinion, adding that she had made up her mind to lose no time in looking into the business. (Seton, 1st March.—*Bishop Keith*, 371.)

Lennox is sixteen days without answering, and during that time he is studying with Moray, Morton and their adherents, the means of avenging his son's death (*Miss Strickland*, III., 212), or, to speak plainly, he is making common cause with the assassins, to stir up revolution in Scotland. At last, on the 17th of March, he writes again to Mary Stuart. He begins by thanking her for the "gentle" letter she has written to him in reference to the keeping of the county of Lennox, then advises her anew to arrest all those mentioned in the placards, to assemble the States, and summon, by a proclamation, the authors of the placards to come forward—an impossible thing, by the way, seeing that the placards were anonymous. He then quotes as assassins, persons really guilty, and also some quite innocent : Bothwell, J. Balfour, David Chalmers, John Spens, Francis Bastian, John of Bordeaux, and Joseph Riccio, wondering that the Queen had not yet heard of them. (*Bishop Keith*, 372.)

"It was not worth while," says M. Wiesener, "to take sixteen days to concoct an answer of that kind."—*M. Wiesener*, 301.

Mary nevertheless was at the trouble to write him again that she had anticipated his wishes, that the convocation of the nobles was fixed for the following week, that the persons mentioned in his letter were to be present, that they were to be tried according to the laws, and if found guilty, punished with extreme rigour. She begged him to try and stay in Edinburgh during the whole week, that he might take part in the trial, and then added :

"Ze sall have experience of our earnest will and effectuous mynd to haue an end in this mater, and the auctours of sa unworthie a deid realie punist."—*Bishop Keith*, 373.

Thus there is found in the Public Registers an Act of Council, dated the 28th, fixing for the 12th of April the trial of Bothwell and the persons implicated in the murder of the King. (*Bishop Keith*, *ibid.*)

Lennox ought to have been satisfied, or at least very glad, to see the end so nigh. Not so. He begged Elizabeth to bring about an adjournment, without saying a word about it to Mary ; and it was only on the 11th of April, the day before the trial, that he wrote from Stirling to the Queen. In that letter, written at the eleventh hour, he asks that the trial, which he had hurried on by his wishes and acts, be put off ; he asks power to be given him to arrest the guilty himself, a thing which was contrary to the Scottish laws, and which the nobles never would have suffered ; he asks also power to remove from the Court the suspected persons, to smoothe the way for the revelations. On that occasion Mary

could not yield: any wavering on her part must have seemed a sign of coldness and indifference; moreover, she had against her a law in use from time immemorial in Scotland which allowed only fifteen days between the citation and trial. (*Goodall*, I., 346; *Acta Parliam.*, III., 7; *Mr Hosack*, 284, and note; *Bishop Keith*, 378, note.)

Having failed in that point, the ambitious Earl renewed his intrigues with the assassins, and made it his business to embarrass his hapless daughter-in-law. Mary's flight into England allowed him to talk and go on in a way which, coward as he was, he never should have dared to do had the Queen been still in Scotland.

On the 11th of June he writes to Moray that he should like all possible means to be used to find out fresh things, not only against her, but also against all those who followed her into England, and that a way should be thought of to arrange the articles which he had sent to his servants; that inquiries should be made about the quarrel betwixt the Queen and King before the baptism, how the King went to Glasgow, and as to the nature and cause of his illness; and that he should try and find out if there had been any appearance of poison, and what physicians had watched him. (*Miss Strickland*, III., 121.)

It is difficult to understand that letter and those recommendations, for Lennox had beside him Crawford, whose prodigious memory in reference to the first letter from Glasgow, we have boasted. The Earl's search was, however, more fruitful than he expected. Instead of certain particulars, he succeeded in finding four letters: two written to the Queen, and two sent by her in reply. He showed them at the Conferences with so much success, that they were entirely lost sight of, and that it is not exactly known what they contained, except that they were against the Queen. (*Goodall*, II., 209; *Anderson*, II., ii., 122; *M. Wiesener*, 223.)

On the 10th of July 1570, Mary, sorry at being on such bad terms with the family of Lennox, wrote to the Countess a letter, in which she protested her innocence, and begged her mother-in-law to think over her decision, and give her back her love. "The Countess sent the letter to her husband. The latter replied in July 1570, in a private letter to his wife, that Mary Stuart was guilty, and that he was *sure of it, not only from his own knowledge, but from documents in her own handwriting, from confessions of people led to death, and other infallible proofs.*" (*M. Mignet*, I., 435.)

The reader now knows the value of those "documents in her own handwriting" and the "confessions of the persons led to death." All

that is false, and serves only to set off, in more glaring colours, the baseness of the Earl's conduct. The Countess of Lennox was, from that day, more distant to Mary Stuart than in the past; and the Earl, entrusted with the education of the little James VI., carried infamy so far as to teach him and make him utter words insulting to the honour of his mother. (*M. Wiesener*, 510.) That is what the Earl of Lennox was until the end. It would be a degrading as well as an irksome labour to point out, one by one, the calumnies which that man invented against Mary Stuart, with the view of ruining her side and seizing a crown which he had long coveted.

- The misunderstanding with the Countess lasted, after the death of Lennox, during the regencies of Mar and Morton. The glorious end of Kirkaldy, the underhand-dealings of Morton, his letters to the Countess, in which he threw the blame on all those who did not belong to his own side, his endeavours to keep matters in the dark, and the conduct observed towards Bothwell, raised doubts in the mind of Lady Lennox. She wondered if there was not some mystery beneath; and looking back to the declarations made by Darnley's murderers, to the touching letter which her daughter-in-law had written her, and seeing her patience in her hard captivity, she allowed her hatred to give way, and secretly set about finding out the truth.

What chiefly prompted her to do so? History is silent on that point; yet we may believe that the marriage, so much dreaded by Mary, (*Corresp. diplom.*, VI., 293, 300) of Charles Stuart, younger brother of the late King of Scotland, to Elizabeth Cavendish, step-daughter of Lord Shrewsbury, Mary's keeper, while bringing the families together, enabled them to study the facts more closely, and find out the truth. Opinions are free on that subject. This much, however, is not to be doubted: that the Countess, while in the Tower, through that marriage, worked during the winter of 1574-75, in concert with Mary, to withdraw the young Prince from the hands of Morton, and send him to the Continent. (*Prince Labanoff*, IV., 258.) She even busied the leisure hours of her prison working for her daughter-in-law a small square of embroidery, intertwining her white hairs with the linen threads: the wish for revenge had been overcome by love. (*Miss Strickland*, V., 231.)

On the 6th of November 1575, the old Countess wrote to Mary a letter, marked with gentle confidence; she trembles, with Mary, about the lot of little James VI., whom she calls "our sweet and peerless jewel in Scotland," curses with her the "wicked governor" Morton; begs

her to be without fear, to put her trust in God, and assures her that all will yet go well, that "the treachery of her traitors is known better than before," and is happy to call herself "her most humble and loving mother and aunt." To finish the picture, Mary's sister-in-law, the wife of Charles Stuart, writes to her in a postscript, that she thanks her for having been good enough to think of her, that she prays God to send her Majesty better days, that she should be happy to serve her, that she loves and honours her sincerely, and that she is for life, her "most humble and lowly servant." (Fac-Simile, *Miss Strickland*, V., 372.)

"In any other history, and for any other person," says the grave M. Wiesener, "we assert that testimony so valuable as that of Lady Lennox, ought at once to be convincing. But when Mary Stuart is concerned, crabbed prejudice can no longer acknowledge the truth."—522.

Yet, when one ponders over the conduct of Lady Lennox, when one sees that woman thirsting for the blood of Mary, stirring up England and Scotland with her cries, swearing that "she shall never forget the death of her child," and yet so thoroughly acknowledging the truth that she is willing to make amends, at any price, for the ill she has done her unfortunate daughter-in-law, one cannot waver, and one must say: calumny has been found out; truth has dawned; Mary is innocent.

IV.—SHE MARRIED THE MURDERER OF HER HUSBAND AFTER HAVING HIM ACQUITTED.

If Bothwell had not made himself famous by the double crime of murder and rape, he should now, despite the high dignities he inherited from his family, be forgotten, like so many other Scottish lords of that period, whose names are known only to the learned. Until the murder, Bothwell plays only a secondary part at court and in the country. Now on bad terms, and again feasted, at Holyrood, his turn of mind did not allow him to remain long in the same state.

In 1556, by the death of his brother, Patrick Bothwell, he finds himself invested with the hereditary function of Lord High Admiral of Scotland, and Sheriff of Edinburgh, Haddington and Berwick.

In 1558, he is appointed lieutenant of the Queen on the Border, and keeper of Hermitage Castle, the State Arsenal in Liddesdale. Pleased with his position, he lived quietly, when the dealings of the bastard Moray, who was seeking to seize the throne (*Goodall*, I., 168-170), forced him to go and ask help from France. (*Chalmers*, III., 110). He seemed then the great mainstay of the throne of Scotland. Such noble conduct was, unfortunately, not to last long: ambition and jealousy soon made the Earl a conspirator.

In 1562, Bothwell wishes to ruin the Hamiltons; spurned by Moray, to whom he had hinted his plans, he at once goes to the Hamiltons, and proposes to them to crush Moray, as a troublesome rival. That wonderful piece of knavery is thus told by the abbreviator of Lord Herries' Memoirs.

"The historie reports, that about this tyme, James Erle of Bothwell (a seditious man, and one whoe resolved to mudd the waters) dealt seriouslie with the Earle of Murray, to ruin the Duke and the whole name of Hammiltoun; wherein, he offred his assistance. He laid many reasons before Murray for this project to move him to give ear, and ever glanced at them in there pretensions to the crowne, and there power to cross him in his actions. But the Earle of Murray, being a man of a deep reach in witt, neither lykt the project nor had great confidence in Bothwell. He waved all his propositions, and refused to enter on any such actions. Whereupon, Bothwell turned himself to the other syd, and informed the Duke that the Earle of Murray was onlie he that eclipsed the greatnes of his hous, that it was easie to cut him off, being now with the Queen at Falkland; which being done, the Queen might be seased upon, and then be absolutlie in their power."—*Herries' Memoirs*, 61.

In 1565, he gives way to seditious words and acts towards the Queen. On the 2d of May, accused of having wished to seize her royal person, to take her prisoner to Dunbar, he is cited by her before the courts of justice, and condemned in default. (*Pitcairn*, I., 461, sq.). The words which he had uttered against his Sovereign and against the Queen of England, were such as a woman forgets only with the greatest difficulty; he had mocked them, and made so free as to say that:

"Both Queens would not make one honest woman."—*Randolph's Letters*, 15th, 30th, and 31st March, at the State Paper Office.

I do not need to refute that fresh calumny; history is there to protest and say that, at that period, Mary was more than half an honest woman. Castelnau, who saw Mary Stuart in September 1564, says:

"Je trouuay ceste Princesse en la fleur de son âge, estimée et adorée de ses sujets, et recherchée de tous ses voisins; en sorte qu'il n'y auoit grande fortune et alliance qu'elle ne püst espérer."—*Mem. de Castelnau*, *Jebb*, II., 460.

"I found that Princess in the flower of her age, esteemed and adored by her subjects, and sought after by all her neighbours; so that there was no great fortune and alliance that she might not hope for."

That same year, Darnley's marriage changed the situation. Moray, disappointed in his fondest hopes, revolts. Bothwell is called back from France to oppose him (*Teulet*, II., 248), and we find him great in power at the end of October. (Randolph to Cecil, 31st October, *State Paper Office*). His influence still lasts after the murder of Riccio. (*Spottiswoode*, II., 39). Yet she, whom people delight in calling "the blind Mary," was not so attached to Bothwell, that she did not prefer her honour and her interest to her affections. At the time of the birth of James VI.,

"the King, her husband, with the earls of Argile, Murreie, Atholl and Mar, remained with her in the Castell, and the earl of Huntlee, Bothwell and the remnant of the Lords lodged in the town."—*Hollinshed*, II., 328; *Spottiswoode*, II., 40.

On the occasion of the famous journey to Alloa, which Buchanan describes as a prank of the Queen with Bothwell and his satellites, Lethington and Mary again became friends, "albeit, Bothwell did strongly oppose" (*Spottiswoode*, II., 39), and we learn from Hollinshed that it was neither a prank nor sulkiness, but a pleasant visit to the country after her confinement.

"In the beginning of August, she passed up the water of Forth to Allowaie, where she remained certain daies, the Earls of Murrie and Mar being of companie with her, and there the King, her husband, came to visit her. The same time, Monsieur Malvoisir came into Scotland from the King of France, bringing letters to the Queen, who was conveyed by the Bishop of Ross to Allowaie, where he was joifullie received, courteouslie intertained, and highlie rewarded. The Queen of England sent Mr Henrie Killebrew to the Queen with the like message, rejoicing for her safe and happie deliverance, who was received in most thankfull maner, and well rewarded."—*Hollinshed*, II., 328.

The same author continues :

"In the latter end of August, the Queen, accompanied with the King her husband, the earls of Huntlee, Murreie, Bothwell and diverse other, went into Meggat-land there to pass the time in hunting, where they remained certain daies."—*Ibid.*, 329.

During those excursions Bothwell must have noticed the hatred borne him by the nobles; he even received a public insult from Moray, and his royal "mistress" did not speak a word in his defence. (*Bishop Keith*, app., 169; *Stevenson*, 164; *Miss Stickland*, II., 362.) Yet if, with Buchanan, M. Mignet is to be believed, Bothwell was then the idol to which Mary sacrificed her honour and her people.

Such was Bothwell's life up to the death of Darnley. By turns driven from the Court and recalled from exile, he had no friend. The Queen had drawn him to her, and then cast him aside as was meet, without seeming to attach herself to him. From what precedes, I conclude that historians have mis-stated facts, and mistaken the laws of nature, when they wrote of the mad loves of the Queen and Bothwell.

Dargaud has written: "Her palled taste and her heated senses required a new and criminal nature, a pirate—not poetry, but reality" (169). That idea is false, because a sudden passion is absurd between old acquaintances. No moralist can contradict that axiom. Then again, Bothwell had nothing that could give rise to such a fire, for according to Buchanan, he was a brute, physically and morally. (*Febb*, I., 255, 304.)

The murder is committed. Mary shuts herself up in a room of mourning, but calumnies come to assail her. While she weeps for her

husband, the nobles, bent upon her complete ruin, noise abroad the most odious slander.

"The brut began to ryse," says Melville, "that the Quen wald mary the Erle Bodowell."
—175.

The placards denounce Bothwell; why did not the Queen have him arrested at once? That objection, which is thought of great value in Paris in the nineteenth century, falls of itself, if one takes heed that in feudal times kings were not always masters.

"To have imprisoned so powerful a subject as Bothwell, without a particle of evidence as yet produced against him, would have been a stretch of authority which no Sovereign of Scotland could have ventured to attempt."—*Hosack*, 293.

On the 5th of March, public opinion, though directed against Bothwell, was not yet fixed.

"The common speech toucheth the Earles Bothwell and Huntly, who remain with the Queen; but how true the accusations are, I will not take upon me to affirm the one or the other; neither would I have you to utter any of these things, to make condemnation of any of them, but as reports." Cecil to Norris.—*Cabala*, 137.

On the 8th of March, Moray invited Bothwell to dinner, to meet Huntly, Argyll and Lethington. (*Chalmers*, I., 324.)

On the 16th of the same month, Bothwell was still thought, in Paris, to be one of Mary's most faithful subjects, and it was said that the Earl of Moray intended to put him to death, the more easily to overthrow his Sovereign.

"Havendo la mira d'occupare il Regno, si voglia servir di questa occasione per amazzar il conte di Boduvel, homo valoroso, di molto credito et confidentissimo alla Reina, con animo di poter poi piu facilmente insidiar alla vita di Sua Maestà." The Pope's Nuncio to Cosmo I.
—*Prince Labanoff*, VII., 106.

"Having in view to occupy the throne, he wished to make use of that opportunity to kill the Earl of Bothwell, a man of great courage, of much influence, and very much attached to the Queen, in the hope of being able more easily afterwards to lay snares for the Queen's life."

On the day fixed, Bothwell appeared before the Court, over which presided the Earl of Argyll, having as assessors, Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline, Lord Lindsay, James Makgill, and H. Balnaves. A peculiarity worthy of remark is, that it was the Queen's advocates who made the charge, no other having come forward.

"The accusers were onlie the Queen's two Advocats, whoe durst not present any accusation but that which was fraimed and given them."—*Herries' Mem.*, 86.

Bothwell is acquitted; and the remarkable thing is, that those who acquitted him so generously, at a later period charged "and accused the Queen of the murder of the King by means of the Earl of Bothwell."
(*Bishop Keith*, 375, note.)

From that time calumnies redouble.

"Two days after the trial, Mary gave a public proof of her regard for Bothwell, by appointing him to carry the sceptre before her at the meeting of Parliament."—*Robertson's Dissert. on King Henry's Murder*, 18.

Before advancing that fact as an evident proof of Mary's favour towards Bothwell, Robertson ought to have inquired if Bothwell had not already carried the sceptre, and he would have found that, at the session of March, 1566, two days before Riccio's murder—that is to say, at a time when no one dreamt of Mary's tender feelings for Bothwell—that Lord also carried the sceptre, in company with Gordon and Crawford, one of whom carried the crown and the other the sword.

"George Lord Gordoun, eldest sone of vmquhile George erle of Huntlie, bure the croune, James, erle of Bothwill, the ceptour, and David, erle of Crawford, the Sword of Honour."—*Diurnal*, 89.

"In that parliament," again says Robertson, "she granted him a ratification of all the vast possessions and honours which she had conferred upon him, in which was contained an ample enumeration of all services he had performed."—*Dissertation*, 19.

What are those vast possessions? Robertson does not say; he asserts generally, but does not specify. Only he puts in the margin: "Anderson, I., 177," where is found a "Ratification in favorvs of the Erle of Bothwell," and in that said ratification, instead of *vast possessions*, there are only some lands which were given to him to make up for his outlays in the keeping of Dunbar Castle.

"And that it was and is necessarelie requyrit that the samyn suld be weil enteritenit, mantentit and furnishit, quhilk culd nocht be done without some yeirlye rent and profett wer gevin to him to that effect, and als for reward of his said seruice."—*Anderson*, I., 117, 118.

On reading the eminent historian, we are led to believe that this was an exception in favour of Bothwell. Anderson speaks of Bothwell and Huntly only, but if reference be made to the text itself of that Parliament, we find a number of acts signed in favour of the enemies, as well as the friends, of the Queen. Alongside of Bothwell and Huntly are found Angus, Moray, Mar and Lethington. (*Acta Parliam.*, II., *Analysis in Bishop Keith*, 379.)

As far as the honours are concerned, M. Mignet sums them up thus:

"Elle l'investit du commandement du Château d'Edimbourg, que possédait le comte de Mar, gouverneur du Prince royal. Elle lui donna de plus le Château de Blackness, l'Inch et la supériorité de Leith."—I., 290.

"She invested him with the command of Edinburgh Castle, which was held by the Earl of Mar, governor of the Prince Royal. She gave him besides Blackness Castle, Inch and the Superiority of Leith."

It follows from the works which M. Mignet must have read, just as I have, since he quotes them when they speak against the Queen, that

the Castle of Edinburgh was not handed over to Bothwell, but to Cockburn of Stirling, against the will of the townspeople. (*Birrel*, 7, and *Diurnal of Occur.*, 107, quoted above.)

As for Blackness, Inch and the Superiority of Leith, had M. Mignet taken the trouble to read attentively the author whom he quotes with so much show, he must have seen that Mary was perhaps yielding to some foreign influence.

"Morton," says the historian Tytler, "after a secret and midnight interview with his royal mistress, received the Castle of Tantallon and other lands which he had forfeited by his rebellion; and it was remarked that in return for this his whole power and interest were assured to Bothwell. The Castle of Blackness, Inch, and the Superiority of Leith were conferred on the same favourite."—*Tytler*, III., 242.

Did not the two conspirators go hand in hand?

The redeeming of the Superiority of Leith, despite what may be said of it, is an affair which puzzles but little the defenders of Mary Stuart, because, 1st, she could effect it on the terms of the engagement (*Diurnal*, 84); 2dly, she was forced to do so for her safety, as Bothwell was Grand Admiral of Scotland; 3dly, she granted it to Bothwell before the placards accused him. (*M. Wiesener*, 300, note; *Chalmers, Dissertation*, III., 75 sq.)

In support of their assertions, the Queen's enemies quote two secret contracts of marriage made before the 5th of April betwixt Mary and Bothwell. Unfortunately for them, that document also is apocryphal. When one looks at all the documents brought forward in evidence against Mary Stuart, one does not fail to be struck by their imposing mass; but when each is examined in detail, the building piled up by hatred on rotten foundations is thrown down, bit by bit gives way, and so comes to pieces that nothing can be saved.

Three contracts of marriage betwixt Mary and Bothwell are known—fancy, only three!—and what seems curious, is that not one of those contracts alludes to the others; whence I conclude *à priori* that the first two are false.

The first, written, according to Buchanan, *before the death of Darnley*, contains these words:

"Nous, Marie, par la grâce de Dieu, Royne d'Escosse, douairière de France, etc., promettons fidèlement et de bonne foy et sans contrainte à Jacques Hepburn, conte de Boduel, de n'avoir jamais autre espoux et mary que luy et de le prendre pour tel toute et quant fois qu'il m'en requérira, quoyque parents amys et autres y soient contrayres. Et puisque Dieu

"We, Mary, by the grace of God, Queen of Scots, Dowager of France, etc., promise faithfully and in good faith, and without constraint, to James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, never to have any other spouse and husband than he, and to take him for such at any time he may ask me, though relatives, friends and others be contrary to it. And since God has taken my

a pris mon feu mary, Henry Stuart, dit Darnley," etc.

late husband, Henry Stuart, so called Darnley," etc.

No date and no place. (Signed) MARIE R.

That contract, *autograph*, according to Buchanan (*Febb*, I., 321), must be cast aside, because it is not in the Queen's spelling, and because it is not in her writing. The word "douarière" (modern English, "dowager;" English of the sixteenth century, "dowarier," "dowarrier," "dowariar,") (*Labanoff*, passim) shows the hand of the forger, for Mary always writes in French "douairière" (*Labanoff*, passim, especially I., 392, II., 86, 136, and IV., 181). Neither did Mary ever write "Boduel;" we find "Bothwell" or "Botwell," once "Boithvile" (*Labanoff*, II., 24), "Bothvile" (46). The same remark applies to "espoux" and to "toute et quant fois." The latter expression is found only once that I am aware of in Mary's correspondence, and it is written thus: "Toutes et quantes fois." (*Prince Labanoff*, V., 395.) That *quant*, pronounced English fashion, tells of an origin that does not belong to the Court of the Valois.

The expressions, "Quoyque parents, amys ou autres y soient contrayres," breathe a dishonest passion that Mary would never have put into a contract, or they are out of place. The thing smacks of the Detection.

Lastly, the sentence, "Puisque Dieu a pris mon feu mary Henry Stuart, dit Darnley," clearly shows that the contract was written after the death of Darnley.

The pretended autograph contract is written in "a kind of what they call in England Chancery hand," a kind of writing which never was Mary's; and in the signature the letter "M" is twice as high as the others, while in authentic signatures all the letters are of the same dimension. (*Goodall*, I., 126; *M. Wiesener*, 334.)

Then, seeing that nothing proves the authenticity of the contract, that several of its details are contrary to it, that it bears neither date nor place, and that the writing, style, spelling and signature are not Mary Stuart's, the document must be thrown aside.

Neither can the second contract bear inspection. It is dated the 5th of April, and Mary was then in deep mourning, after spending the night of Good Friday in wakefulness. It is dated Seton, where Mary, according to Moray's Diary, was amusing herself and "in all solace," and where she was to stay till the 10th. (*Anderson*, II., 274.) That is an error, as Mary during that time is in Edinburgh, weeping for her husband; she is there on the 23d (*Birrel*, 7); she is found there still on the 28th

(*Bishop Keith*, 374; *Miss Strickland*, III., 229); and she is lost sight of until the 7th of April, when she gives Moray a passport. *Diurnal*, 107. It is possible that Mary went to spend Easter week at Seton, and that she stayed there until Quasimodo Sunday. A quotation from the extracts of the Privy Council, if it is exact, gives us Mary at Seton on the 5th of April. (*Bishop Keith*, 374.)

Admitting, what seems to me likely, although historians have maintained the contrary (*Miss Strickland*, III., 229), that Mary was at Seton on the 5th, the difficulty as to time is only half removed. Is it morally possible that Mary, taken up with her mourning, and Bothwell with his trial, should have thought of concluding a contract at Seton on the 5th of April? Those who, despite facts and dates, believe Buchanan's account of the rejoicings at Seton, will answer in the affirmative; others perhaps will keep silent. But here is the best. In the middle of the text we find this fact, which entirely contradicts the date:

"Et promet Sa Haultesse que, incontinant le procès de divorce, intenté entre ledict Jacques comte de Bothwel et dame Jeanne Gordon, à present sa pretendue espouse, sera finy par l'ordre de justice, Sadicte Majesté, moyennant la grâce de Dieu, soudain espousera et promet prendre ledict Jacques Comte de Bothwel pour mary."—*Teulet*, 109.

"And promittis and oblis his Heichnes, that how sone ye proces of Diuorce, intentit betwix ye said Erle Bothwell and dame Jane Gordoun now his pretensit spous, beis endit be ye ordour of ye lawis, hir Majestie sall, God willing, thairefter schortly mary and tak the said Erle to hir husband."—*Detection*, 94.

I have proved, in regard to the Stirling letters, that the action in divorce was brought forward only on the 27th in the religious court, and on the 29th in the civil court. Thence I conclude that the second contract is also apocryphal.

Buchanan, a man of good faith, no doubt, wishing to enlighten his readers as to the value of that document, says with noble simplicity:

"Et appert par les mots du contract mesmes, qu'il fut arrêté, deuant que la sentence de divorce fut donnée entre Bothwell et sa première femme. Et de fait pour certain, il fut conclud deuant qu'une poursuite de divorce eust esté intentée ni commencée; combien qu'en quelques autres mots d'iceluy contract, il semble estre autrement spécifié."—*Jebb*, I., 323.

"Alswa it appeiris be the wordis of the contract itself that it was maid befor sentence of diuorce betwix Bothwell and his former wyfe, and alswa in verray treuth was maid befor ony sute of Diuorce intentit or begune betwene him and his former wyfe, thocht sum wordis in this contract seme to say utherwyse."—*Detection*, 96.

What a love for truth! Lest the reader may not notice the contradiction, the author takes care to point it out to him, and seems to say to him: You see I have no interest in putting this document in my work, seeing that there is a gross anomaly; yet I have been forced to insert it, because it proves a good deal against Mary, and because it is

authentic. That is what one calls a hoax, and the quill-drivers who are not accustomed to good manners, but who have rather the disagreeable habit of calling things by their own name, say that reflections of that stamp are made intentionally. Honest people have difficulty in believing such assertions.

But there is really a fatality in this world, and it is in vain for people to be well-meaning ; what one undertakes to save on one side is often hopelessly destroyed on the other. Such is the history of the good Mr Buchanan. A dauntless searcher, so much the more importunate for his enemies, as he stops before no difficulty, has sought, and has succeeded in finding, the original text of the famous contract, and, despite the well-known sentiment of the estimable author of the *Detection*, pronounces himself against the contract of the 5th of April, and says, with most undue severity, that it is "clearly falsified." He describes it as follows :

"It is in a lawyer's handwriting, and has attached to it a subscription resembling Mary's. There is a considerable blank between the writing and the signature, giving the impression that either the signature was there before the writing was inserted, or a blank left as for a testing clause in the Scotch form. There are no witnesses to it, and therefore the testing clause could not be filled up. On careful comparison with her ordinary subscription, the name looks much liker an imitation than a genuine signature."—*M'Neel-Caird*, 166, note.

Bothwell had for witnesses the assassin Huntly and his very respectable priest, Thomas Hepburn ; the one received lands, the other was shortly after admitted to the Privy Council. People wonder if that was not done as a small reward for their good conduct. (*M'Neel-Caird*, 167.)

Lastly, on the 14th of May, the day before the marriage, there is made, before numerous witnesses, a third contract, which everybody acknowledges as authentic. In it there is no mention of the two others—there is complete silence ; and if any conclusion can be formed from that, it is that nothing of the kind had previously been drawn out. (*Prince Labanoff*, II., 23 sq.)

People may ask : Why false contracts ?

"Obviously," replies a historian, "to make it appear that she agreed to marry Bothwell before he carried her off, and that, instead of her being intimidated or influenced by the bond of Morton and his confederates to Bothwell for the marriage, they might be able to pretend that they were led to sign that bond by the knowledge that she had previously signed a contract of marriage."—*M'Neel-Caird*, 167.

I am quite of that opinion. But to proceed.

On the 19th of April, Bothwell invites the nobles to a gala, prepared at one Ainslie's. He tells them that the Queen has resolved to marry him, and that she asks for their approval ; thereupon he hands them

a bond for signature. It was in two parts. In the first, the nobles again cleared Bothwell, and said :

"Oblies us, and ilk ane of us, upon our faith and honors and treuth in our bodies, as we are nobillmen and will answer to God, that in caice heireftir anie maner of person or persones, in quhatsumevir manner sall happin to insist farder to the sklander and calumniatioun of the said Erle of Bothwell, as participant, airt and pairt of the said hyneous murthor, quhair of ordinarie justice hes acquite him, and for the quhilk he hes offerit to do his devoire be the law of armes, in manner above reherst ; wee, and everie ane of us, be our selves, our kyn, friendis, assistaris, partakeris, and all that will doe for us sall tak trew, effauld, plane and upricht pairt with him to the defence and maintenance of his quarrell, with our bodies, heretage and guidis, agains his privie or publick calumnyatories, bypast or to cum, or onie utheris presumeand onie thing, in word or deid to his reproach, dishonour or infamie."—*Anderson*, II., ii., 109; *Bishop Keith*, 381.

In the second part, they favoured Bothwell's marriage with all their influence :

"But in caice onie wald presume directlie or indirectlie, opinlie, or under quhatsumevir colour or pretence, to hinder, hald back, or disturb the same mariage, wee sall in that behalfe, esteime, hald and repute the hinderaris, adverseries or disturbaries thair of, as our comoun enemyis and evill willeris ; and notwithstanding the samyne, tak pairt and fortifie the said Erle to the said mariage, so farr as it may please our said Soverane lady to allow ; and thairin sall spend and bestow our lyves and guidis againes all that leive or die may, as we sall anser to God, and upon our awin fidelities and conscience ; and in caice we doe in the contrare, nevir to have reputatioun, or credite in na tyme heireftir, but to be accounted unworthie and faithles traytors."—*Anderson*, II., ii., 110, 111.

That bond is signed by twenty of the principal nobles, and with thoughtlessness really inconceivable, John Read, Buchanan's secretary, writes at the top the name of Moray, who had been in France from the 9th of April. That extraordinary stupidity points out to the reader who was the true leader of those conspiracies.

Moray (who was not at the supper), Morton and the Protestant Bishop of the Orkneys, Pitcairn of Dunfermline and Lindsay of Byres, pretended that the Queen sent her consent in writing. (*Goodall*, II., 140.) They added also that they had signed the bond "more for fear than otherwayes." (*Id. Ibid.*, 141; *Anderson*, IV., ii., 60.)

"The next day," says Lord Herries, one of the signers, "this paper was shewen to the Queen, and she was desyred to ratifie and consent to that which the Lords had thought fittest for the well of the kingdome, and if she refused, they said, they wold leave her to herselfe. In end, they made the Queen subscryve to a ratification, in a paper by itself wherin was expressed, that what they had done was by her speciall order and command."—*Herries' Mem.*, 88.

That detail of Lord Herries sheds great light on the double-dealing of those who were at the head of the manœuvres, while it explains the paper "signed with the Queen's hand" presented by Moray at York. Despite those alleged sentiments of Mary, the nobles, seeing the dislike with which she accepted Bothwell, exacted, on the eve of the marriage, a regular pardon for the signers of the Ainslie bond. Here it is, from *Anderson* :

"The Queenes Majestie haveing sene and considerit the band above writtine, promittis in the word of a princesse, that she, nor her successoris sall nevir impute as cryme or offence to onie of the personis subscriyveris thair of, thaire consent and subscription to the matter above writtin, thairin contenit ; nor that thai, nor thair heires sall nevir be callit nor accusit thairfoir, nor zit sall the said consent or subscriyving be onie derogatioun, or spott to thair honor, or thai esteemit undewtifull subjectis for doing thair of, notwithstanding quhatsumevir thing can tend or be allegeit in the contrare. In witnes quhair of, her Majestie hes subscriyveit the samyne with her awin hand."

In the only authentic contract of marriage, made in presence of a great number of lords, almost all of whom were signers of the Ainslie bond, we find this remarkable passage :

"And now hir Majestie being destitute of an husband, levand solitary in the state of wedoheid, and zit zounge and of flurishing aige, apt and able to procreate and bring forth ma children, hes bene preissit and humbly requirit to zeild unto sum mariage. Quhilk petitioun hir grace weying, and taking in good part, bot cheiflie regarding the preservatioun and continewance of hir posteritie, hes condescendit thairto, and mature deliberatioun being had towert the personaige of him with quhome hier Hienes suld joyne in mariage, the maist part of hir Nobilitie, be way of advise, hes humbly, prayit hir Majestie, and thocht bettir that she suld sa far humble herself, as to accept ane of hir awin borne subjectis on that state and place, that wer accustomat with the maneris, lawis and consuetude of this countré, rather nor ony foreine prince. And hir Majestie preferrand thair advyse and prayers, with the weifair of hir realme, to the advancement and promotioun, quhilk hir Hienes in particular mycht have be foreyne mariage, hes in that poynt, likewise inclynit to the sute of hir said nobilitie. And thay namand the said noble Prince, now Duke of Orknay, for the special personaige, hir Majestie well avysit, hes allowit thair motioun and nominatioun, and graciouslie accordit thair unto. . . . Hir Majestie wil be content to ressave and tak to hir husband the said noble prince for satisfacioun of the hartis of hir Nobilitie and people."—*Prince Labanoff*, II., 25, 26.

From that, we see that Moray reversed the parts ; instead of the nobles being obliged to sign, they forced the Queen to do so.

Though they have done all they could to hide the truth, it is still easy to follow the trace of their conspiracies, despite the three centuries which separate us from them.

As early as the month of March, the nobles conspire so openly against Mary Stuart, that the ambassador of Spain thought it his duty to warn her of it.—*Stevenson*, 175.

At the end of April, the nobles go on with their dealings, and Bothwell's friends band together to seize the Queen and take her to Dunbar. (*Anonymous Letter, end of April, State Papers, Scotland*).

Camden who was the friend of Burghley, and consequently must have known all about the facts, expresses himself thus in reference to the doings of the nobility :

"Simul ac in aulam redierat, et ille (Moravius) et conjurati Bothwellium ex familiæ splendore, opera contra Anglos fortiter navata, fide spectata, ut ejus amore dignissimum, in maritum commendarunt. Suggesterunt, illam

"On Moray's arrival at court, both he and the conspirators recommended to the Queen, Bothwell, for a husband, as he was the most worthy of her, on account of the rank of his family, his bold struggles against the English and his

solam et solitariam non posse tumultus excitatos compescere, insidias antevenire, mo-
emque regni sustinere; in societatem igitur
lecti, periculi, et consilii illum adsumeret, qui
possit, velit, et audeat se opponere. Eoque
adegerunt ut mulier trepida, duabus tam
tragicis cædibus perculsa, et Bothwellii erga
se et matrem suam fidei et constanciæ memor,
quæ quò confugeret quam ad fratris fidem n n
habuit, assensum præbuerit."—*Camden*, I., 111.

tried fidelity. They hinted to her that, alone and
solitary, she was not able to stifle the troubles
which were rife, to guard against snares, or bear
the weight of government; that she ought to
take as bedfellow, defender and adviser, a man
who could, was willing, and would dare to oppose
her enemies. Thus they forced a poor woman,
still suffering from the blow of two most tragic
murders, and who thought she had no better
counsellor than her brother, to give her con-
sent to Bothwell, on account of his constancy
and fidelity to her mother and to her."

Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, also says :

"By the Nobility of the Kingdom, Earl Bothwell was acquitted of the murder, and recom-
mended to her for husband."—I., 77.

Blackwood, who is, after Lesley, according to Robertson, the one of
Mary's defenders who searched most carefully into the matter, says that
Mary's commissioners at Westminster,

"produirent des lettres de Mourray et de quel-
ques autres de ses complices, par lesquelles
non seulement ils luy (à Marie) conseilloyent
de prendre le comte de Bodwel pour Mary,
mais aussi la menaçoient de plusieurs grands
inconueniens, si elle le refusoit."—*Blackwood*,
611.

"produced letters from Moray and some others
of his accomplices, by which they not only
advised her (Mary) to take the Earl of Both-
well for husband, but also threatened her with
much unpleasantness if she refused him."

Those various particulars of Camden and Blackwood, are strongly
confirmed by Sanderson, from the letter of the nobles, which he saw
himself in London. According to that historian, the nobles said to the
Queen, that if she refused the marriage,

"they would purchase their own security, by any other waies, how prejudicial soever to her
safety, which at last, she was forced to consent unto. And this Relation was confirmed under
the hands of the Earls of Huntley and Arguile, and sent to Q. Elizabeth as an undeniable truth,
dated December, 1567, *which I have seen*."—*Sanderson*, 49.

It was well known in Edinburgh that the Queen yielded to the pres-
sure of the nobility, and the minister, Craig, called upon to defend him-
self in a general assembly, did not hesitate to say :

"And seing the best part of the Realme did approve it, ather be flatterie or be thair silence,
&c."—*Anderson*, III., 280.

If the Scottish nobles disgraced themselves by consenting to that
infamous traffic, it is just, nevertheless, to throw the greater part of the
shame on Moray, who was its instigator. Nor do historians hesitate to
brand his name. Chalmers (III., 119, 403), has raked up at length
the history of his conspiracies; the Spanish historian, Herrera, who
could draw from the best sources, calls him a man fit for anything,

(*insolente y atrevido*, p. 38). Camden says he was of unruly ambition, and that like Knox, his master, he looked upon the government of women as monstrous (p. 107); ambition drives him to revolt in 1565, ambition makes him successively wish and plot the deaths of the Queen and King. (Tytler, III., 204; *Blackwood*, 571, 583). Even his friends forsake him; Huntly, Argyll and Herries fall off first; Athol, Hume, &c., follow them. (*Idem.*, 578, 583). Throckmorton, indignant at his conduct towards the Queen, and at the manner in which he received the most temperate advice, asks his leave. (*Bishop Keith*, 457). The later historians look upon him as an ambitious man, far from nice in choosing the means to reach his ends. Gilbert Stuart says:

"Power was the idol which he worshipped; and he was ready to acquire it by methods the most criminal."—*History of Reform.*, 185.

Tytler passes a similar judgment upon him (III., 282), and says:

"He consented to the murder of Riccio; to compass his own return to power, he unscrupulously leagued himself with men whom he knew to be the murderers of the King; used their evidence to convict his Sovereign, and refused to turn against them till they began to threaten his power, and declined to act as the tools of his ambition."—III., 321.

He behaved towards the refractory nobles with so much harshness and severity, that his upholders, Melville and Buchanan, own it. (*Bishop Keith*, 469).

History, besides, reproaches him with having basely sold Norfolk and Northumberland.

Mary, quite unaware of what was going on, leaves Stirling on the 24th of April. On that day, early in the morning, Bothwell went to Huntly,

"with whom he did secretly break off his determination of the having the Queen at Dunbar, which, in no respect, Huntly would yield unto."—*Border Corresp.*, *Miss Strickland*, III., 271.

Then, the traitor takes with him a large number of armed men, and seizes the Queen quite close to the gates of Edinburgh. The place proves that Mary was not a consenting party. Several authors mention Almond Bridge, near to Linlithgow, but that is wrong, as we learn from an act of the Parliament, at which were present Lethington and Huntly, who were taken with the Queen. They must have known better than any one else where they were arrested.

"In viâ sua inter Linlithgow et oppidum Edinburgi prope pontes vulgo vocatos Foulbriggis eam adoriendo cum mille equitibus armatis."—*Acta Parliam.*, III., 6.

"(Bothwell) having attacked her with a thousand armed horsemens on her way from Linlithgow to Edinburgh Castle, near the bridges vulgarly called Foulbriggis."

The Queen's arrest gives rise to the following reflections:

If Mary knew Bothwell to be guilty, she never would have thought of marrying him, as she could gratify her passions otherwise.

If she knew him to be guiltless, she would never have had herself carried off, for the abduction was a useless and hurtful scandal.

Knox says of the carrying off :

"As it had been by force, although every one knew it was with the Queen's liking."—*Hist. of Reform*, V., 353.

To all outward appearances, therefore, Bothwell's doing assumed the character of violence ; that is what I am anxious to state. As regards the Queen's liking, if it was real, why does Knox write, ten lines before, that Bothwell forced the nobles to give their consent in writing to the marriage ? She could marry whom she chose, and needed the consent of the nobles only to bestow the crown-matrimonial.

But a letter from Robert Melville to Cecil himself removes all doubts which might arise as to the intentions of Mary, and shows that she was a victim of the most odious violence :

"And, is I haif lernit, the said Lordis will innowis think the Quenes Majestie at lybertie so long is sche beis in the said erls cumpane albeit he maye persuad Her Majestie to saye wtherwise. The treughe is, quhane sche wes first karyit to Dunbarre be him, the erle of Huntlie and my Lord of Ledingtoun were takkin as prysoneirs, and me broder James with dyvers other domestik servands ; and Her Majestie commandit sum of her cumpane to pas to Edinbroughe and charge the towne to be in armour for her reskew. Quhilk theye incontinent obeyit and past withoute there portis apone fut, bot culd not helpe." Robert Melville to Cecil, 7th May 1567.—*State Paper Office*.

On his arrival at Dunbar,

"the Erle Bodowell boisted to mary the Quen, wha wald or wha wald not ; yea whither sche wald hir self or not."—*Melville's Memoirs*, 177.

Bothwell kept her away from her friends, and shut up Lethington and Huntly :

"Ad spatium decem dierum aut eocirca, detinendo eos, assentire cogendo, saltem dicere quod assentiebant, ad promovendum omnia sua proditoria et nepharia facinera, precipue matrimonium pretensum."—*Acta Parliam.*, III., 8.

"He detained them for a space of about ten days, forcing them to consent, or at least to say that they did consent, with the view to accomplish his treason and his crimes, and especially the marriage he was bent upon."

At the moment when the victim, forsaken by nobles who betrayed her, groaned in her captivity, Bothwell showed her the Ainslie bond, and asked her to comply with it ; the Queen would not, and the Earl acted with the greatest violence towards her. (*Melville*, 177 ; *Bishop Keith*, 418.) Such outrageous conduct is not astonishing in a man so passionate, that in conversation with the Queen's ladies he used language so filthy that he (*Melville*) left him. (*Melville*, 178.)

"Ond'ella per fugire l'indegnità che di tal fatto potea succedere e prevenire i scandali et appoggiarsi a persona del Regno e di valore, lo sposò." Arch. du Capitol.—*Papiers de Sixte V.*, 16, *author's own copy.*

"So to avoid the shame which might result from such an act (the rape), to prevent scandal, and to associate to herself a person of the kingdom gifted with great courage, she married him."

On the 6th, Mary was brought back to Edinburgh in a sad plight, and the people could not help noticing that she returned rather as a captive than a Queen.

"The said erl Bothwill leidand the Quenis Majestie by the bridill, as captyve."—*Diurnal*, 111.

On the 12th, Mary forgave Bothwell for the violence he used, "for the taking and imprisoning of hir," and she did so in full Parliament, before the most of the signers of the Ainslie bond. (*Anderson*, I., 87.)

About the same time, no doubt mistrusting her beloved Bothwell, she sends word to the Earl of Mar at Stirling, that he is *on no account* to place the young Prince in other hands than hers. (*Miss Strickland*, III., 295.)

On the 14th, she forgives the nobles for leaving her at Bothwell's mercy; and on the same day she gets put into the contract this clause, that she marries Lord Bothwell at the request of her nobles. (*Anderson*, I., 111; *Prince Labanoff*, II., 25 sq.) In that same contract there is a clause which completely upsets the fable of the loves of Glasgow and Stirling:

"Likeas it is alsua agreit and accordit be the said noble Prince and Duke, that na signatours, lettres or writtings, other of giftis, dispositionis, graces, privilegis or uther sic thingis concerning the affaires of the Realme sal be subscrivit be him onlie, and without hir Majesties avise and subscriptioun; and gif ony sic thing happin, the samyn to be of nane avale."—*Prince Labanoff*, II., 29.

To Bothwell she never gave the title of King, which she had given to Darnley. (*Prince Labanoff*, II., 25, 26, 46, 48; *M'Neel-Caird*, 166.)

It seems strange that she should act so to a man to whom she is said to have written:

"Pour vous complaire, je n'espargne ny mon honneur, ny ma conscience, ny les dangers, ny mesmes ma grandeur, quelle qu'elle puisse estre."—*First letter from Glasgow*, 33.

"To obey zow, my deir lufe, I spair nauter honour, counscience, hazarde, nor greitnes quhatsumevir."

And again:

"Entre ses mains, et en son plain pouvoir,
Je metz mon filz, mon honneur et ma vie,
Mon païs, mes subjectz; mon ame assubjettie
Est toute à luy," etc.—*Sonnets*, II.

"In his handis and in his full power
I put my sone, my honour, and my lyfe,
My countrie, my subjectis, my saule all sub-
dewit
To him," etc.

It has been said of Alcibiades that he was so great a man that he united in his person the opposite virtues and vices. There is no need for Paris to envy Athens, for the genius of M. Mignet is not inferior to the soul of Alcibiades, since it can admit at the same time two contradictory things—the contract of the 14th of May and the letters to Bothwell. That man is the marvel of our age as Alcibiades was of his.

The marriage-day came, and she who had refused the hand of the King of Navarre, because he had divorced his wife (*Jebb*, II., 486), married Bothwell, who had done the same; she who had always protested, and who protested till the last, to live and die a Catholic, wedded Bothwell, the Protestant, the “*stoutest*,” according to Randolph (*Robertson*, II., 354), and was married in accordance with the Protestant rite. The author of the *Diurnal* remarks that on that occasion there was “*nathir plesour nor pastyme*” (112). I should say so! Mary was sinking under the weight of shame; and the Earl of Huntly, former brother-in-law of Bothwell, who, instead of hiding the disgrace of his sister's divorce, seemed happy to have accomplished it, was present at the ceremony, as if to affront the Queen's grief.

On the very day of the marriage Mary was extremely sad.

“*Jeudi (15 Mai)*,” writes the English ambassador, “*Sa Majesté m'envoya querir où je m'apperceus d'une estrange façon entre elle et son mary; ce qu'elle voullut excuser disant que si je la voyois triste, c'estoit parce qu'elle ne vouloit se rejouyr, comme elle dit ne le faire jamais, ne désirant que la mort. Hier (17 Mai) estant renfermez tous deux dedans un cabinet avec le Comte de Bodwell, elle cria tout hault que on luy baillast un couteau pour se tuer. Ceulx qui estoient dedans la chambre l'entendirent; ils pensent que si Dieu ne luy aide qu'elle se desesperera.*” Du Croc to Catherine de Médicis, 18th May.—*Prince Labanoff*, VII., 111.

“*On Thursday (15th May) her Majesty sent for me, and I noticed a strange manner betwixt her and her husband, which she wished to excuse, saying that if I saw her sad, it was because she did not wish to rejoice, and never would, desiring only death. Yesterday (17th May), being both in a closet with the Earl of Bothwell, she cried aloud for a knife to kill herself. Those who were in the room heard her; they think that if God does not come to her help, she may become desperate.*”

The love sickness must have soon been got over, for on the day of her marriage, the Queen is sad, and two days after, she asks for a knife to kill herself.

Melville writes :

“*the Quen was sa disdanfully handlit, and with sic reprochefull langage, that Arthour Askin and I being present, hard her ask a knyf to stick herself 'or elis,' said sche, 'I sall drown my self.'*”—180.

And a little further on :

“*He was sa beastly and suspitious, that he sufferit hir not to pass ouer a day in patience, or making hir cause to sched abundance of salt teares.*”—182.

On the 17th of June the ambassador du Croc changed his feelings for Mary Stuart, and while pitying her, wrote to France this sentence, so often repeated by the Queen's enemies :

" Les malheureux faits sont trop prouvés !" " The unfortunate facts are too well proven !"

That final judgment of a man, whom no interest forced to misrepresent the truth, would certainly have been of great value in itself, had not Mary Stuart's enemies forgotten, or neglected to say, that the ambassador had on the previous evening conversed for three hours with Lethington, one of Darnley's murderers ; that circumstance singularly lessens, if it does not quite destroy, the importance which might be attached to it (*Teulet*, II., 310, 312) ; and lest the truth might ooze out, the ambassador was, on two different occasions, refused leave to see Mary Stuart (*Prince Labanoff*, VII., 123 ; *Teulet*, II. 319, 325).

Later, having become aware of the bonds of Craigmillar and Ainslie, he used a different language, and from that time spoke only in praise of the unfortunate Princess (*Prince Labanoff*, VII., 125, *sq.*)

We have yet to see what the cotemporary documents say about that marriage. Mary, in her instructions to the Bishop of Dunblane (*Prince Labanoff*, II., 32-34, and in her note to the Christian Princes (*Prince Labanoff*, VII., 315, *sq.*) relates the facts, as we have given them, with an air of truth that leaves no doubt in the mind of the reader ; but as the words of the victim might seem interested, and therefore of no value, I am about to strengthen them with neutral or hostile texts.

On the 12th of June 1567, the Lords of the Privy Council issued a proclamation in which they say :

" James Erle Bothuele put violent handes in our Soveraine Ladies maist nobill persoune, and thairafter wardit hir Hienes in the Castell of Dunbar, quhilk he had in keiping, and be a lang space thairaftir conuoyit her Majestie, environit with men of weir and sic friendis and kisman of his as wald do for him, evir in sic places quhair he had maist dominioun and power, hir grace being destitute of all counsale and serwandis, into the quhilk tyme the said Erle seducit, be unleisume waies, our said Soverane to ane unhonest Mariage with himself."—*Anderson*, I., 131 ; *Spottiswoode*, II., 57.

The bond of Association of the 16th of June exposes the same facts in terms nearly identical (*Anderson*, I., 134).

The one drawn out by Sir James Balfour and other nobles contains expressions that I am glad to record :

" During the quhilk space that the said erll haid hir mast noble persoun in thraldome aboue specifit, hir Majestie being onlie accompanyit with a few number of hir domestick servandis, he ceasit not be all wayes and unleisum meanis to seduce hir Grace to ane unfeull and unhonest marriage ; quhilk from the begynning is null and na effect for sik causes as ar notourlie alsweil knawin to other realmes as to ws. The nobilite and inhabitantes of this our native cuntre in lykwyys being informit that the said erll as yet remaines in his mast

wickit intentioun and ferm purpos to kepe our soverannis persoun in the thraldom and subiection forsaid, invyronit with men of weir and his frendis, sway that nane of the Nobilitie of hir Grace realm may resort to hir presens to know hir mynd, without thair mast extreme and utter danger," etc.—*Morton's Papers*, No. 22.

On the 20th of July, the Scottish lords of Moray's party, answering Throckmorton, say :

"How shamfullie the Quene our Sovereigne wes led captive ; and by feare, force, and, as by many conjectures may be weill suspected, other extraordinary and mair unlauchfull meanys, compelled to become bed-fallow to another wyves husband, and to him quha not thre monethis afore had in his bed maist cruelly murtherid hir husband, is manifest to the warld, to the great dishonour of hir Majestie, ws all and this hail natioun."—*Stevenson*, 233.

The same document informs us besides that :

"he envyroned her persoun with a continewall garde of twa hundreth harquebusiers alsweil day as nycht ; quhair ever she went (besides a number of his servandes and others naughty personis, murtheraris and pyratteis, quha to impetrate impunitie of there wickkit lyffe and libertie to do ill, maid thair dependance on him) and by thir meanys brocht the nobilitie to that miserable poynt, gif ony had to do with the prince, it behovit him, before he culd come to hir presence, to ga through the rankes of harquebousiers under the mercy of a notorious tyran, as it wer to pas the picques, a new exemple, and quhairwith this natioun had never bene acquaynted."—234.

Cecil confirms the isolation and violence of which Mary was the victim.

"The sayd Erle also did notorioossly evill use the Quene, keping hir as a prisoner in Dumbar, and through the discords betwixt them both grew very notoriooss, yet by means of such had planted about the Quene, he alweiss recovered attonments."—*Cecil's handwriting, Anderson*, IV., i., 102.

So many precautions to hold fast a person who loves you do not seem absolutely necessary.

Among the documents of the Privy Council is found an act (31st July 1567) the work of Morton, Athol, Hume, Sinclair and Ruthven, signers of the Ainslie bond, wherein it is said :

"He (Bothwell) had alswa tresonablie revesit hir Majesties maist nobill persoun, and led hir captive to Dunbar, constrenit hir, being in his bondage and thraldome, to contract sic ane ungodlie and pretendit mariage with him, as nowther Goddis law nor manis law could permitt."—*Anderson*, I., 142.

The December Parliament, pronouncing against Bothwell sentence of forfeiture, accused him of having treasonably arrested the Queen, and forced her to marry him through fright great enough to shake the most courageous woman.

"Reginam vi et violentia compellendo, metu qui etiam in constantissimam mulierem cadere poterit, promittere matrimonium quam celerime poterit cum eo contrahere."—*Acta. Parliam.*, III., 8.

"Forcing the Queen by strength and violence, and also by the fear which may come upon a woman even the most firm of purpose, to promise to marry him, with the shortest possible delay."

In October 1568 a document was signed by Moray and Morton, wherein we read

"James, sumetime Erle Bothwell, being well known for chief author (of the murther) thair of, enterit in so great credit and authoritie with the Quene, then our Soverane, that within thre monethis efter the murther of hir husband, the said Erle plainlie enterprisit to ravish hir persoun and leid hir to Dunbar Castle, haldand hir there as captive a certane space, during quhilk he causit divorce be led betwixt him and his lauchfull wyfe, and suddanlie, at the end thair of, accomplit a pretendit marriage betwix him and the Quene."

It is also said that the nobles then united,

"to put the Quene to fredome furth of the bondage of that tyran, that presumptuouslie had enterprisit to revysh and marie hir, quhais lauchfull husband he could not be, nather she his lauchfull wyfe."—*Goodall*, II., 144, 145.

The first reason for which Morton, Mar, Hume, &c., take up arms is,

"pour avoir la Royne, qui estoit detenue par force captive, pour la mettre en liberté." Account of the Captain of Inchkeith.—*Teulet*, II., 303; *Anderson*, I., 137.

"to have the Queen, held prisoner by force, set free."

Bothwell also says that the pretext given by the conspirators was,

"pour delivrer Sa Majeste de la miserable servitude où il la tenoit, ce qu'elle nia apertement devant tous."—*Affaires du Comte de Bothwell*, 19.

"to deliver her Majesty from the wretched bondage in which he held her, which she openly denied before all."

We shall see shortly what that denial was; meanwhile let us merely note the pretext given.

Those, who, later on, pursued Bothwell, with so much ardour, said :

"Trew it is the noblemen now convenit acknowledge and will that all men now esteame and judge of thame, that thai weill and dois allow of the first honorabill caus interprysed be some vther noblemen, in the persuite of the erle Bothuell; quha haveing presumptuouslie put handis on the queines maiestie, our soueranes persone, and deteaned hir as captive, invironed hir with a grit guard of men of weir, and vtheris of his devotione; and thairby, be just feir, constrained her against her will and commoditie, to enter suddanlie with him in due pretendit mariage . . . to releive hir heines from the bondage and tyrannie of that godles and vnworthy man, yea, and to sequestrat her persone fra his societie quhill he might be punishit and expulsit, was ane actione in the self worthie, allowable and deserving praise."—*Bannat. Memor.*, 28.

From those confessions of the friends and enemies of the Queen, I conclude that Bothwell used violence to carry her off, detain her and wring from her her consent.

Such misunderstanding betwixt husband and wife scarcely proves a love-match. We have seen how violent were the scenes which followed the marriage. The conduct of Bothwell in leaving Mary on the night of the 10th of June, and that of Mary in not following him from Borthwick, prove that at that time the misunderstanding still lasted.

Melville says :

"many of them that wer with hir, had oppinion that sche had intelligence with the lordis ; cheifly sic as vnderstod of the Erle Bodowelis mishandling of hir, and many indignitez that he had baith said and done vnto hir, sen ther mariage was maid."—182.

Contrary to that opinion, the captain of Inchkeith, or the anonymous person whom it is agreed upon to call by that name, asserts that Mary was much grieved on seeing Bothwell depart.

"Elle fait partir Monsieur le Duc avecque grande angoisse et douleur de son couste et plus souventefois s'entrebessèrent au départir. Sur la fin, Monsieur le Duc lui demanda si elle ne vouloit de sa part garder la promesse de fidélité que elle luy avoit faicte, de quoy elle luy assura. Là-dessus luy bailla sa main ainsi que il departoit, et puis il s'en alla et monta à cheval (à) petite compagnie, environ une douzaine de chevaux de ses amys, et partist au gallop tirant le chemin vers Donbar."—*Teulet*, II., 307.

"She made the Duke depart with great anguish and pain in her side, and they often kissed one another at the parting. At last the Duke asked her if she would keep the promise of fidelity she had given him, and she assured him she would. Thereupon he gave her his hand as he was starting, and then he went and mounted his horse, and, accompanied by a dozen of his friends on horseback, he set off galloping in the direction of Dunbar."

The whole of that text, "ces douleurs de son couste," of which Mary had been complaining for some time, those "entrebessements," that "promesse de fidélité," that "main baillée," all the passage, in short, seems at first natural and truthful. Yet one may call in question that touching adieu—first, because Birrel, a cotemporary author, says that Bothwell fled secretly (p. 10) ; secondly, because Bothwell in his "Affaires" seems to state the contrary :

"Elle me prya de m'en retourner à Dunbar avecques mon armée, là ou de bref elle me viendrait trouver ou pour le moins qu'elle me manderait de ses nouvelles."—*Les Affaires*, &c., 20.

"She begged me to return to Dunbar with my army, adding that she would shortly meet me there, or at least send me news of her."

Are not the captain's words the chorus of a clique? One might believe it, for the day after Mary's capture some one made up, as I have said, a letter in which the Queen called Bothwell her *dear heart*. Supposing that Mary really cared so much for Bothwell, she might do so in good faith and without dishonour, because—first, being herself innocent, the last man whom she could suspect was Bothwell; Darnley had never shown him that antipathy with which he had looked upon the other lords; Bothwell had always given proofs of devotedness; she might think that the ill that was said of him was untrue, and the insults which the rioters had uttered against herself and the Duke, in their excursion near Borthwick, confirmed that belief: secondly, Bothwell had been acquitted: thirdly, he had been recommended to her for a husband,—so

many things which might excuse and justify her attachment at the last hour. Those considerations explain the denial of which Bothwell speaks in his "Affaires."

M. Mignet, by whose name I have long sworn to the guilt of Mary Stuart, says that she surrendered to the nobles only "to save him whom she loved." He has against him the text of Melville, and that of Bothwell quoted above; he has in his favour a part of the account of the captain of Inchkeith. That is a point which it is important to elucidate.

Camden, whose account no one suspects, says on the subject :

"qui Bothwellium à reatu absolverant et chirographis in nuptias consenserant, in eum arma sumpserunt quasi apprehensuri ; reverà submonuerunt ut sibi fuga consuleret, non alio consilio, quam ne apprehensus totam machinationem renudaret et ipsius fugam in argumentum ad Reginam regicidii accusandam arriperent."—I., 113.

"Those who had absolved Bothwell, and who had consented in writing to his marriage, took up arms against him as if to seize him, but they warned him to see to his safety by flight, and that, without any other motive than the dread of seeing him reveal the whole plot, if they took him, and to be able to draw from his flight an argument to accuse the Queen of regicide."

Lord Herries affirms the same fact :

"Whereupon Sir William Kirkadie of Grange was sent from the confederats to treat with the Queen, with an offer, that if she will put away her husband, and come in herself to there armie, they were all reddie to do her duetifull obedience. He had a secret commission, underhand, and a token from the Earle of Mortoune to Bothwell, to advyse him to retear himself from the furie of the people to some pairt out of the kingdome, for a small tyme, untill he wrought business in a right posture ; but that the people are now so hote, that if he doe stay, it was not possible to keep them from destruction on both syds ; and gave assurance, that if he wold slip himselfe asyde, he may go frielie whither he pleased in securitie, for none shall be suffred to follow."—*Herries' Mem.*, 94.

The same accusation is again brought forward by John Lesley, in his "Defence of Q. Mary's Honour" (41). The captain of Inchkeith, whose sentimental words I have quoted, lets it be understood, without heeding whether or not the two ideas fall in with one another, that it was Bothwell who left the Queen.

"A la fin, les Seigneurs furent contants que Monsieur le Duc s'en allast, pourveu que la Royne allast avecques eulx en sa ville de Lille-bourque. Monsieur le Duc et le conseil des Barons accorderent et résolurent plustôt cette affaire que de répandre le sang, pourveu que Monsieur le Duc fust seur et sans estre poursuivi."—*Teulet*, II., 307.

"At last, the Lords were satisfied that the Duke should go away, provided the Queen should go with them to her town of Edinburgh. The Duke and the Council of Barons agreed to that, and decided upon it rather than shed blood, provided the Duke were safe and not pursued."

It is in vain that he says, a few lines further on, that the Queen "feit partir Monsieur le Duc avecque grande angoisse et douleur de son couste." The fact remains : Bothwell and the barons had already

agreed and resolved upon the flight. Was it the thing for a man who abandoned at such a moment her whom he had ravished, to ask her "si elle vouloit de sa part garder la promesse de fidélité?"

Mary's commissioners asserted at Westminster, that

"the Laird of Grange at the samyn tyme tuik the Erle Boythwell be the hand, and baid him depart, promising that na man showld folow nor persew him."—*Goodall*, II., 165.

On the 26th of June, eleven days after the flight of Bothwell, the Lords of the Secret Council sent to summon the keeper of Dunbar to give up the place, and on the same day, they issued a warrant of arrest against Bothwell. Now, the keeper in question was Bothwell,

"and the charge to surrender it can only be construed, as in intimation that he would do well to depart."—*Chalmers*, I. 364.

From those texts, we learn that Bothwell fled through the advice of the nobles, that Mary saw him depart without grief, and that, instead of surrendering to save him whom she loved, she surrendered, as I have said in the text, to avoid bloodshed, leaving Bothwell to his fate. A grave fault: in acting thus, "she mistook her real interest," says M. Wiesener, "as she had so many times mistaken it. Her interest, a month before, was to be firm in her refusal to wed Bothwell; now it was her interest to try and follow him as far as the shelter at Dunbar and await events."—*M. Wiesener*, 411.

After the flight of Bothwell, the lords continued to accuse him of violence towards the Queen; they claim him from the King of Denmark as an assassin and ravisher, and make grave charges against him. Mary's innocence is formally acknowledged in the letter of Th. Buchanan, nephew of the famous pamphleteer:

"Præterea negare improbissimus ille proditor non poterit, quin Rege ac domino suo trucidato nefarieque a se sublato armata militum manu comitatus vim publice Serenissimæ Scottiæ Reginæ intulerit et violenter in arcem quandam totius regni munitissimam sibi commissam traxerit, scelus meo judicio inexpiabile."—*Affaires du Comte de Bothwell*, app., lv.

"Besides that perverse traitor cannot deny that, after killing his King and Lord, and thus ridding himself of him in a criminal manner, he publicly, at the head of a squadron of armed soldiers, did violence to the most serene Queen of Scots, and dragged her forcibly to the best fortified place in the Kingdom, which he commanded, an unpardonable crime in my eyes."

In Scotland, people were more and more persuaded of the Queen's innocence; on the 17th of June 1567, the Earl of Huntly, the guilty worker of Mary's misfortunes, and with him, several other Scottish lords, intercede with the King of France in her favour. (Earl of Huntly to the Archbishop Glasgow, 17th June.—*State Paper Office*). On the 1st of April 1568, two-thirds of Scotland rise against the Regent

and his followers, and warn him that they shall hold him and his allies liable for the least harm that may happen to their Queen. (B. de la Forest to the King. *Teulet*, II., 345).

If one compares that fact with the silence which answered the eloquent proclamations of the nobles (*Buchanan*, XVIII., 44; *Knox's Reformation*, V., 355), and the coldness they met with from the people of the large towns, one will admit that the Queen's cause gained in power as the calumnies vanished.

"Lo que se le imponia de la muerte del marido, parece que se olvida, y van teniendo por fuerza loque hizo en lo de matrimonio de Boitguel, por no haver podido la Reina con justos temores excusarlo, como se ha comenzado a publicar." Gusman de Silva to Philip II., 9th July 1568.—*Archives de Simancas, Inglaterra*.

"What was reproached in regard to her husband's death seems to be being forgotten, and people attribute to force her marriage with Bothwell, the Queen not having been able to avoid it through just fears, as people have begun to publish it."

On his arrival in Norway, Bothwell asserted the Queen's innocence.

"Contrariam factionem subditos rebelles asserens, nec ullam hac in causa Reginae accusationem intervenire." King of Denmark to James VI.—*Affaires du Comte de Bothwell, App.*, xliii.

"Calling the contrary faction rebellious subjects, and maintaining that the Queen ought not, by any means, to be accused in that debate."

Many times during his life he repeated the same words; he attested that same innocence on his death-bed, and his will was recognised as authentic in England and on the Continent. Thence I conclude that MARY IS INNOCENT.

In 1586, at the time of the pillage of Chartley Castle, there was found among Mary's jewels, a small gold box, in the form of a triptych, containing miniatures of Darnley and Mary, with their son in the middle. (*Prince Labanoff*, VII., 244). "Can it be conceived," says M. Wiesener, "if she had had to reproach herself with hatred and a share in the murder of him whom she always called 'her late Lord, the King Henry,' can it be conceived that she should have preciousely treasured that triple image during twenty years of torture? that, anxious for consolation and strength, she should, amid her anguish, with the same look fondly gaze upon the child whom she cherished and the husband whom she is said to have betrayed and murdered?" *M. Wiesener*, 156.

While clearing away, some years ago, the ruins of the Castle of Fotheringay, the last prison wherein the luckless Mary dwelt, there was found a seal in the shape of a ring, bearing on one side, the date 1565, HENRI L. DARNLEY, with a lion on the shield, and on the other, H. and M. (Henry and Mary) in a monogram. How was it that that jewel was

not mislaid in the various journeys from prison to prison? How is it that it was omitted in the very minute inventory at Chartley? How is it that it was lost exactly at the last halting-place of the Queen of Scots? There is but one solution possible; it must be admitted that Mary wore it constantly on her finger, and that it was lost shortly before, during, or after the execution. Sad waif escaped from the wreck, it now serves as a testimony in favour of her who wore it until death.

In 1584, Mary said, in reference to the marriage of the young Prince: "his father was married when he was but nineteen years old."—*Miss Strickland*, V., 323.

She is ever speaking of Darnley; but of Bothwell, not a word, not a keepsake. That last consideration destroys the fable of thorough contempt for Darnley, and of passionate love for Bothwell.

DISSERTATION III.

MARY AND BABINGTON.

MANY apologists of Mary Stuart pretend that the letter from that Princess to Babington (17th July) was written, unknown to her, by her secretaries, and that therefore she is not responsible for it. Though that feeling has long prevailed, and may, as an argument, easily be brought forward against the enemies of the unfortunate Queen, I do not accept it, *1st.*, because nothing proves that the thing so happened ; *2dly*, because in such a case the master is liable for the act of his servants. I therefore set aside that line of defence which would lead one to think that the authors who have put it forward, so positively, love Mary Stuart more than they love truth.

The Queen of Scots is guilty of having tried to assassinate Elizabeth, and these things are against her :

- I. *The anxiety which she always showed in prison, and her well-known hatred for the Queen of England.*
- II. *The letters she wrote to the conspirators, especially the one to Babington.*
- III. *The confessions of her Secretaries.*

I. I cannot say, if at heart, Mary did or did not hate Elizabeth ; this much, however, is certain, that she never spoke ill of her, while all her letters breathe gentleness and conciliation. One alone contains intimate particulars far from flattering to the reputation of the Queen of England ; but to whom was that letter written ? To Elizabeth herself, to let her know the fine things that the Countess of Shrewsbury related about her.

In 1568 she writes :

“ Madame ma bonne Sœur, j'ay resceu deus de vos letters, à la première desquelles j'espère fayre response de bousche moy mesme, et par Milord Scrupet votre vischamberland (Knollys), entendu votre naturelle bonne inclination en

“ Madam, my good sister, I have received two of your letters, to the first of which I hope to reply by word of mouth through My Lord Scrup and your vice-chamberlain (Knollys) considering your natural good in-

vers moy, ce que, en certitude, je me suis toujours promis, et voudrois que mon affection vers vous vous feut aussi apparante que sans fiction je vous la porte de vray, et alors vous panceriés votre bonne volontay mieulx employée que je ne vous sauroys persuader par mes humbles mersimants.”—*Prince Labanoff*, II., 80.

clination towards me, which, in truth, I have always expected and I should wish that my affection towards you were as apparent to you as in reality, I sincerely bear it to you, and then you would think your kindness better employed than I can persuade you by my humble thanks.”

In the same year, cast aside by Elizabeth, she writes :

“ Si vous craignés blasme, aumoins pour la fiance que j’ai eue en vous, ne faites pour moy ni contre moy, que ne voyez comme je viendray à mon honneur, estant en liberté, car icy, je ne puis ny ne veulx respondre à leurs faulses accusations, mais ouy par amitié et bon plaisir, me veulx-je justifier vers vous *de bonne voglia*. . . . Combien que je ne vous blasme en rien de ceste menée contre moy, mais j’espère, pour toutes leurs belles offres et faulx coulourez discours, vous me conoistrez une plus profitable amie qu’ilz sçauroient vous estre.”—*Idem*, II., 99, 100.

“ If you fear blame, at least for the trust I have placed in you, do nothing for or against me, until you see how, when free, I shall clear my honour ; for here I cannot and will not answer their false accusations, but when willingly listened to by friends, I wish to justify myself to you *de bonne voglia*. . . . Though I blame you not for this behaviour towards me, yet I hope, despite all their fine offers and false coloured speeches, that you will find me to be one of the best friends you could have.”

In 1569, after the York Conferences, at the time, when in her life she must have been most vexed by the indignities which she had undergone, she wrote :

“ Après Dieu (je) chersche votre ayde seul. Et si mes adversères vous donnent autre chose à entendre, ils sont faulx, et vous abusée en cela ; car je vous honore comme ma sœur aynée, et non obstant toutes ces choses (qui me sont grièves) si desubs ramantue, je seray toujours preste de requerir, comme de mon aynée sœur, votre faveur, layssant tout aultre. Et Dieu veuille que l’acseptiés et me trétiés comme je desire meriter en votre endroyct.”—*Idem*, II., 283.

“ After God (I) seek your aid alone. If my enemies lead you to believe anything else, they are false and you are deceived ; for I honour you as my elder sister, and despite all those things (which are painful to me) here above quoted, I shall always be ready to ask, as from my elder sister, your favour, leaving aside all other. And God be willing that you accept my request and treat me as I wish to deserve at your hands.”

In 1570 :

“ Hélas ! contentez-vous, Madame, de la destruction de mes frontières et forteresses, de mes subjects prinses, et moy voulontèremant venue entre voz meins, sans vous voulloir armer, pour le soubtien de mes rebelles, contre votre propre sang, de qui, si il vous plect vous pouvez disposer à votre contentemant.”—*Idem*, 53.

“ Alas ! Madam, be satisfied with the destruction of my frontiers and fortresses, my subjects taken, and my coming into your hands of my own free will, without seeking to arm yourself, for the support of my rebellious subjects, against your own blood, of which, if you please, you may dispose at your will.”

“ Ayant recours au lieu du pleige, au meryte de mon humble sumission et obéyssance, laquelle je vous offre comme si j’avoys l’honneur de vous estre fille, comme j’ay celluy de

“ In reference to the place of the pledge, and the merit of my humble submission and obedience, which I offer to you as if I had the honour to be your daughter, as I have that

vous estre sœur et cousine plus proche, et ne cedant à nulle de vous obéyr et honorer d'ycy en avant, s'il vous playst m'accepter pour entièrement vostre ; en recompense de quoy je vous requiers humblement l'octroy de vostre presence."—*Prince Labanoff*, III., 108.

of being your sister and nearest cousin, and yielding to none the duty to obey and honour you henceforward, if it please you to accept me as entirely yours ; in reward for which I humbly entreat you to grant me your presence."

In 1571 :

"Je suis entre vos mains, vous pouvez en tout temps faire de moy ce que bon vous semblera ; mais cependant, je veux bien déclarer et à vous et à tout le monde que je ne vous ay donné occasion de me faire traicter ainsi et seroy bien marrye l'avoir pensé."—*Idem*, III., 359.

"I am in your hands, you can at all times do with me what may please you ; but yet, I wish to declare to you and everybody, that I have not given you cause to treat me so, and should be very sorry had I even by my thoughts done so."

In 1572, in want of clothes in her prison, she asks some from Elizabeth, and sends her

"ses affectueuses recommandations."—*Idem*, IV., 44. "her affectionate remembrances."

In 1573 she said to la Mothe Fénelon :

"Je ne l'ay offencée en sorte que ce soit ni aucuns de ses ministres, de quoy Dieu me sera temoing."—*Idem*, IV., 70.

"I have not either offended her or any of her ministers in any way, in which God will be my witness."

In 1574 Mary sends Elizabeth a piece of embroidery, worked in her prison, and begs her

"d'avoir meilleur opinion d'elle."—*Idem*, IV., 172. "to have a better opinion of her."

In 1587 she wrote :

"Si le Roy (de France) me laisse en faisant ligne avec elle, il mettra ma vie à l'enquent et fortifiera ses ennemys et les myens. Je ne le veux requérir faire aucune entreprise pour moy, durant la vie de ceste Roynes."—*Idem*, IV., 252.

"If the King (of France) forsake me by making a league with her, he will put a price on my life, and will strengthen his enemies and mine. I do not wish to ask him to undertake anything for me during the life of this Queen."

In 1576 :

"Madame, ma bonne sœur, le bon nombre de courtoisies qu'il vous a pleu me fayre depuis un temps me rend d'autant plus désireuse, de les mériter en votre endroit davantage avec le temps, et s'il est en ma puissance, de fayre chose qui vous soit agréable."—*Idem*, IV., 333.

"Madam, my good sister, the great number of courtesies which it has pleased you to do me for some time past makes me most desirous to deserve them from you the more for the future, and if it is in my power to do anything to please you."

In 1577, in reference to several despatches which had been seized, she said :

"Si c'est Mr Walsingham qui a faict ceste recherche par commandement de la Roynes sa maitresse, je ne veulx trouver à redire, n'ayant rien plus agréable que de les esclaircir en toutes

"If it is Mr Walsingham who has made that search by command of the Queen, his Mistress, I do not wish to find fault, there being nothing more agreeable to me than to

occurrences et en toutes occasions de la sincérité de mes déportements, où je ne crains point d'estre surprise, n'y qu'on en puisse rien représenter véritable contrevenant au respect et bonne affection que je porte à la Royne ma dite bonne sœur."—*Prince Labanoff*, IV., 392.

enlighten people as to all events and on every occasion as to the sincerity of my behaviour, wherein I do not fear to be taken unawares, nor that anything may be gleaned therefrom contradictory to the respect and affection that I bear the Queen, my said good sister."

In 1578 she wrote to the Cardinal de Guise :

"Mon bon oncle, j'ay entendu par vos dernières le bon portement de tous les nostres, de quoy je loue Dieu, et que, pour mauvais traitement que je ressoive, vous et eux avez occasion de vous assurer que c'est sans l'avoir mérité vers la Royne d'Angleterre, ma bonne sœur, laquelle je n'ay offensée de parole, de fayt ni de pensée. . . . Je ne sauroys que fayre davantage et m'offrir à respondre à ce qui sera requis pour la satisfaction de ma dite bonne sœur. Par aynsi de ce point soyez hors de peine que je n'ay rien fayt qui puisse mal desservir."—*Idem*, V., 17, 18.

"My good uncle, I learned from your last the good health of all our friends, for which I praise God, and that, despite the bad treatment I receive, they and you are assured that it is without my deserving it at the hands of the Queen of England, my good sister, whom I have offended neither in word, deed, nor thought. . . . I cannot do more than answer what may be asked of me for the satisfaction of my said good sister. Thus on that point have no anxiety that I have done anything that can be hurtful to me."

In 1579 she writes to Walsingham, whom she very erroneously thinks her friend :

"Je vous priray affectueusement de tesmoigner de ma part à laditte Royne, ma bonne sœur, suivant ce que je luy escripz présentement, l'entière et bonne affection que j'ay au bien de ces affayres et le désir que j'ay de luy complayre en tout ce qui concernera son repos et contentement particulier, dont elle et tous messieurs de son Conseil ce peuvent confidamment assurer et recepvoyr suffisante preuve, si aucun vouloit avancer le contrayre."—*Idem*, V., 101.

"I shall beg of you kindly to assure the said Queen, my good sister, from me, according as I write her now, of the entire and good affection and interest that I take in the success of her affairs, and the desire that I have to please her in all that may concern her peace and private contentment, on which she and all the gentlemen of her Council may confidently rely, and of which they could receive sufficient proof, if any one wished to advance the contrary."

In 1580 she writes to Elizabeth :

"Arrachant d'entre nous toute occasion de soupçon et de deffiance, (je désirois) establir une parfaicte amitié pour nostre commune sureté et le bien, grandeur et prosperité de ceste isle."—*Idem*, V., 145.

"Casting aside from between us all occasion of suspicion and mistrust, (I desired) to establish a perfect friendship for our common safety, and for the welfare, greatness and prosperity of this island."

In 1581 :

"J'offre à me soubzmettre à toutes conditions justes et raisonnables pour establir une bonne, seure et parfaicte amitié entre ceste Royne et moy et mon filz."—*Idem*, V., 207.

"I offer to submit to all just and reasonable terms to establish a good, sure and perfect friendship between that Queen and me and my son."

In 1582 Mary Stuart defies Elizabeth to reproach her with anything, and demands that her conduct shall be enquired into :

"‘S’il s’y trouve du mal,’ said she, ‘que je le patisse (ce sera plus patiemment quand j’en sçauray l’occasion); si du bien, ne le mescongnaissez pas davantage et ne souffrez que j’en soys plus longuement si mal retribué, avec vostre très grande charge devant Dieu et les hommes.’”—*Prince Labanoff*, V., 326.

"‘If there has been wrong done, let me suffer for it (I shall do so the more patiently when I shall know the reason); if good, disown it no longer, and do not suffer that I be further so badly rewarded for it, with your very great burden, before God and men.’"

In 1583 she writes to Castelnau de Mauvissière :

"Ma nourriture en France avec tant d’honneur que j’y ay reçu, m’oblige de l’affectionner estroitement; et le bien, que sur le bon naturel de ladite Reine d’Angleterre, ma bonne sœur, je veux encore me promettre d’elle pour l’avenir me contiendra en tout devoir de bonne parenté vers elle; dont je puis dire m’estre très sincèrement acquittée jusqu’à present."—*Idem*, V., 374.

"My education in France, and the honour that I received there, make me love it greatly; and the good that, judging from the goodness of the said Queen of England, my good sister, I still wish to expect from her, will keep me in all duties of good kinship towards her; of which I can say I have very sincerely acquitted myself until now."

In 1584, on the subject of a talked-of agreement, she writes :

"En respect de quoy, m’estant volontairement soubmise à des conditions si avantageuses pour elle et excédantes toute raison pour moy-mesme, que de prince à prince elles ne se pourroient justement desirer, ny quasy elle mesme d’aucun seigneur qu’elle aye en son royaume, je pense devant Dieu premièrement et devant tous les rois et princes de la Chrestienté lesquels j’en feray tousjours juges, en rester suffisamment et honnorablement déchargée, quoy que en reussisse; y ayant de ma part procédé d’une aussi entière, naïve et sincère intention que Chrestien fait jamais en action quelconque. Et défie en cest endroit tous mes plus grands, subtilz et malicieulx ennemis, affin que dessoubz terre (où ilz ont jusques icy cache leurs infinies mines et menées), ils paroissent une foy, s’ilz osent, en public, pour à visage descouvert maintenir ce qu’eux tous ensemble sçauroient imaginer, dire et fayre contre moy: m’offrant pareillement, en telle publique assemblée qui sera trouvée raisonnable, de leur en respondre, et recevoir franchement ce que par les princes chrestiens en sera sur ce déterminé. . . . Car pour la vérité je donne à mes ennemys la carthe blanche de publier le pis qu’ils pourront de moy, mesmement de ma fidèle intention et sincères deportemens à l’endroit de la dite Roïne, ma bonne sœur et ce royaume."—*Idem*, V., 393, 397.

"In respect to which, having willingly submitted to conditions so advantageous to her, and exceeding all reason for myself, that they could not in justice be insisted on between prince and prince, and that she herself could scarcely impose on any lord in her kingdom, I think, before God in the first place, and before all Kings and Princes of Christendom, whom I shall ever make my judges, that I shall be sufficiently and honourably exculpated, whatever betide; having, for my part, proceeded in the matter with as full, artless, and sincere an intention as ever did Christian in any action. And I defy, in this respect, all my greatest, most subtle and malicious enemies: let them rise from beneath the earth (where they have till now hidden their deep mines and plots), and once appear, if they dare, in public, and openly assert what all of them can invent, say and do against me; offering in like manner, for my part, in such public assembly as may be thought reasonable, to answer them, and abide by the decision that the Christian Princes may come to. . . . For I give my enemies, for the sake of truth, full power to publish against me their worst, and also my good intentions and sincere doings towards the said Queen, my good sister, and this kingdom."

"Quant à notre accord et commune bonne intelligence avec la Roïne d’Angleterre,

"As for our harmony and common good understanding with the Queen of England

madame ma bonne sœur, je ne veux que vous pour tesmoing si en effect et par tous mes deportemens et négociations depuis vostre séjour de huict ans en ce royaume, je n'ay pas essayé par tous moyens d'y parvenir et le mériter aultant qu'il estoit en ma puissance. Mais hélas ! Monsieur de Mauvissière, ce n'est pas entre elle et nous que gist le principal fondement de ceste discussion."—*Prince Labanoff*, V., 410.

* Madam, my good sister, I wish only you as witness to declare if, in all my doings and negotiations during your stay of eight years in this country, I have not truly tried all means to attain and deserve them as much as lay in my power. But alas ! Monsieur de Mauvissière, it is not between her and us that the principal cause of this discussion lies."

In 1585 she joins the association for the defence of Elizabeth, and

"de sa bonne grâce et franche volonté, déclare et promet en parole de Royne et sur sa foy et honneur, qu'elle répute dès à présent et tiendra à perpétuité pour ses mortels ennemis tous ceulx, sans nul excepter, qui par conseil, procurement, consentement ou aultre acte quelconque attempteront ou exécuteront (ce que Dieu ne veuille) aulcune chose au préjudice de la vye de la dite Royne, sa bonne sœur ; et comme telles, les poursuivra par tous moyens jusqu'à extrémité, sans jamais cesser qu'elle n'en aye faicte faire justice, punition et vengeance suffizantes et exemplaires."—*Idem*, VI., 76, 77.

"with her good grace and free-will declares and promises on her word as a Queen, and on her faith and honour, that she holds now, and will ever hold, as her mortal enemies, all those, without exception, who by advice, warrant, consent, or any other act, shall attempt or execute (which God forbid) anything to the prejudice of the life of the said Queen, her good sister ; and as such will pursue them, by all means, to the end, without ever ceasing, until she obtain sufficient and exemplary justice, punishment and vengeance."

On the same day she writes to the Archbishop of Glasgow, from whom she kept nothing secret :

"Un de mes principaulx désirs en ce monde ayant tousjours esté de m'acquérir et conserver l'amitié de la Royne d'Angleterre, Madame ma bonne sœur, il fault que je me resjouisse avec vous et mes aultres serviteurs par delà de l'asseurance qu'il luy a pleu m'en donner en ceste dernière négociation, que j'ay traicté avec elle, estant la seule chose que j'avais attendue toutes ces années passées pour m'y arrester et fermer entièrement."—*Idem*, VI., 78.

"One of my chief desires in this world having always been to gain and keep the friendship of the Queen of England, Madam, my good sister, I must rejoice with you and my other servants abroad, at the assurance thereof which she has been pleased to give me in this my last negotiation with her, it being the only thing that I had waited for during all those past years, to abide by and hold to entirely."

Regarding Parry, she wrote to Elizabeth :

"Sur ce que l'ambassadeur de France m'a impartie dernièrement d'un Parry et de Morgan, je vous diray seulement, le prenant sur mon honneur et conscience, que vous ne trouverez point que j'y sois meslée en sorte que ce soit, aborrant, plus qu'aultre de la chrestienté, si detestables pratique et actes horribles ; car pour vous dire librement, Madame, je ne puis pancer que ceulx qui attempteront à vostre vie, n'en fissent aultant à la mienne, et quasy aujourd'huy, la mienne

"In reference to what the ambassador of France has told me lately about one Parry and Morgan, I shall merely say to you, taking it on my honour and conscience, that you will not find I have been in any way mixed up with them, abhorring, more than any other in Christendom, such detestable practises and horrible acts ; for to speak frankly, Madam, I cannot but think that those who shall attempt your life would do the same for mine, and mine now seems almost to depend on yours ; know-

semble despendre de la vostre; sachant bien que, si venez à faillir, vous avez près de vous de ces nouveaux associez qui me feront bien-tost vous suivre."—*Prince Labanoff*, VI., 139.

ing well, that if you happen to fall, you have beside you some of those new associates who would soon make me follow you."

In 1586 she asks from Walsingham a passport for several of her servants in terms which breathe patience and submission. (*Idem*, V., 256.)

Such were, briefly, the sentiments of Mary Stuart until the Babington Conspiracy. It cannot be conceived therefrom how historians have been able to forget the facts and themselves so far as to make Mary, during the whole of her captivity, "a restless woman, a viper, a wild cat," and use a thousand other epithets of like good taste. During eighteen long years, notwithstanding the most unjust persecutions, she shows herself calm and reserved, and seeks, by all honest means, to gain the good graces of Elizabeth, without ever trying to injure her. Whence I conclude, against Mr Froude and those of his school, that Mary by no means manifested the anxiety or hatred against Elizabeth, that is attributed to her. A woman who hated could not have feigned affection for eighteen years.

II.—HER LETTERS TO THE CONSPIRATORS.

In her letters to the conspirators, there is no mention of murdering Elizabeth. The ideas raised in that conspiracy are of two sorts: freedom the end, invasion the means: the projects appear simultaneously.

In January 1585, Charles Paget advises Mary to flee in man's clothing. (Paget to Q. Mary, 4th January, *State Paper Office*). At the same period, the Archbishop of Glasgow warns her that the King of Spain is preparing an invasion, probably against England (the Archbishop of Glasgow to Mary Stuart, 1585, *State Paper Office*); and what proves that Mary, while wishing an invasion, made use of that extreme measure only with regret, is that, from a faint glimmer of hope, and thinking the step needless, she wrote in the same month to the Archbishop of Glasgow:

"Je suis en meilleure espérance que jamais, et cependant assurée de tout bon et favorable traitement, je vous charge de signifier a tous messieurs mes parentz et aultres mes amys et serviteurs par delà que ie les prie tous, tant en commun que chacun d'eulx en particulier, de se départir de toutes pratiques et négociations, si aucunes ilz en ont, tendans au trouble de cest estat."—*Prince Labanoff*, VI., 78.

"I am in better hopes than ever, and meanwhile assured of all good and favourable treatment, I charge you to tell my relatives, and all my other friends and servants abroad, that I beg them, one and all, to desist from all practices and negotiations tending to disturb this State, if they are engaged in any."

That letter allows one to see the beginning of the conspiracy in its

true light ; Mary, tired of captivity, wishes to recover her freedom ; she is anxious to bring it about by arrangement ; it is only as a last resource that she calls for an invasion, and clings to that idea with firmness ; but as to killing Elizabeth, not a word is breathed about that.

On the 13th of January of the same year, Hugh Owen, in his letter to Mary Stuart, speaks only of the escape, and clearly proves that the life of Queen Elizabeth was not sought, by advising Mary to be patient with her, and assuring her that, once free, she is sure to find, even in England, many friends, on account of her right to the crown. (H. Owen to Q. Mary, 13th January). That idea comes up again in July, in the letter of Charles Paget, who points out to Mary the means of escaping. (Ch. Paget to Q. Mary, 18th July, *State Paper Office*).

The letters written to the captive Queen during the conspiracy, give no grounds for suspecting any other design. (*Murdin*, 439-528).

The invasion engrossed Mary's thoughts during the year 1586, as we learn from the letters of Dr Allen (26th January), of the Archbishop of Glasgow (21st March and 10th May), of Mendoça (9th May, *State Paper Office*), and from Mary's answers, (*Prince Labanoff*, VI., 295, 313, 407, 415, 432) ; but she never knew if the King really intended to attack England. She was never sure of it. (*Prince Labanoff*, VII., 206).

On this point, then, we have no doubt : Mary wished and encouraged an invasion. Can she and ought she to be forgiven ? Theoretically, no ; for private interest ought to yield to general interest ; but in the case now before us, the answer is different. Mary, a lawful Queen, not under Elizabeth's jurisdiction, detained against all right in cruel captivity, must not be looked upon as a private person. In imprisoning Mary, Elizabeth not only encroached on the prerogatives of crowned heads, but also made use of her victim to curb the pretensions of the Princes of the Continent, to keep the Scots in check, and even to seize their country if that were possible. In Mary the part of a private individual ceases, and becomes a general cause.

In addition to that great and mighty plan, Mary had recourse to private aid to gain her freedom. But nowhere in her letters to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Parsons, Englefield and Mendoça (*Prince Labanoff*, VI., 294, 335, 382, 409, 414, 432, 434), does one find the project of killing Elizabeth. On the 17th of July, she wrote six letters to various persons who took an interest in her, and there is not in one of them even a whisper of the murder.

One alone incriminates her : the answer to Babington, written on the same day, 27th, and I confess, that at the first glance, that count looks somewhat serious. Yet that letter is not admissible, 1st, because it clearly clashes with Mary's sentiments ; 2dly, because those who put it forward had an interest in forging it, and were fit to do so ; 3dly, because the original was never shown ; and 4thly, because we find in it, intrinsic proofs of forgery.

First, Mary, throughout, gave proofs of her loyalty, frankness and sincerity ; thrice during the later times, she is said to have refused to flee, hoping everything from the goodwill of Elizabeth. (*Teulet*, V., 206 ; *Prince Labanoff*, VII., 197, 205). The texts quoted above, suffice to prove how free from blame was her conduct. She never would do anything against her rival in whom she respected till the last, the sacred character of Queen.

In 1575, she wrote :

" Je ne prétendray de deposséder personne, soit à tort, soit à droict, qui sont desjà en possession."—*Prince Labanoff*, IV., 253. " I should not pretend to dispossess any one, wrongly or rightly, already in possession."

In 1576, speaking of the English lords whom she had to keep up, she said :

" Il me faut m'appuyer si bien que je ne vienne à tomber tout d'un coup, si ceste Royne venoit à mourir ; ce que j'actendray patiemment, sans me précipiter en aucun inconvénient."—*Prince Labanoff*, IV., 314. " I must stay myself, so that I may not fall suddenly, if that Queen should meet her death, which I shall await patiently, without rushing into any inconvenience."

We learn from Nau, that in 1581,

" La dite Royne d'Escosse fut advertye que plusieurs Angloys s'estoient rangez tout a faict au Roy d'Espagne, luy proposant de l'investir de la couronne d'Angleterre de quoy ladite Royne d'Escosse fust fort offensée, persistant tousjours à ne se vouloir entremesler que pour l'Escosse, comme en lieu ou personne ne pouvoit trouver à redire qu'elle et les siens fissent ce que bon leur sembleroit."—*Mémoire de Nau*, *Prince Labanoff*, VII., 202. " The said Queen of Scots was told that several English had gone over to the King of Spain, and proposed to give him the Crown of England at which the said Queen of Scots was very much annoyed, ever persisting in wishing to meddle only with Scotland, as a place where no one could find fault with her and her friends, for doing what they would."

Secondly, That Elizabeth's councillors had already wished to get rid of Mary by poison or by the sword, is well known in history. After using Mary Stuart to crush the Scots, they had an interest in getting rid of her from the day that her presence became dangerous. The last disturbances supplied them with the motive ; but a reason to put the captive to death was needed ; so Walsingham formed around her, a

conspiracy against Elizabeth's life; his usual style being to entangle in conspiracies, those whom he wished to ruin. (*Sanderson*, 115.) That trick, whether on account of Walsingham's well known talent, or on account of its very plainness, did not pass unnoticed.

"Many were of opinion this conspiracie to be but a devised thing by some about the Queene of England, enemys to the Scottishe Queen, who, by all appearance desired to compas things to her disadvantage, and so servinge them selves of all ocasioness the better to prevaile against her, have induced the Queene of England to beleve that she was a partie in this late conspiracye; by which meanes they hope to cause her to attempte somewhat farther againste her person."—*Courcelles' Dispatches*, 3.

Those conscientious ministers stuck at nothing to compass their ends. They formed conspiracies themselves, or urged on those already entering on them. By their spies they seized secret missives, and forged replies. Forging was the general fault of the policy of the sixteenth century (*Gray's Papers*, 150; *Spottiswoode, note*, III., 281; *Hosack*, 251), but one may safely say that, in that respect, Walsingham and his colleagues have far distanced all the forgers of England, France and Navarre. Phelipps, the tool of Walsingham, under an assumed name, began and carried on an imaginary correspondence with a gentleman named Owen—perhaps the same Hugh Owen of whom I have spoken above—and tried to get from him the opinion of the Spanish government, and drive him headlong into conspiracies.

Phelipps, that despicable forger, wrote later :

"The truth is, that there never was any real or direct correspondence held with Owen, but, by a mere stratagem," &c.—*Tytler*, IV., 333, *app.*

The same Phelipps, as early as the 14th of July, three days before Mary Stuart answered Babington, exclaimed with an assurance too great not to be suspected :

"We attend her very heart in the next."—*Tytler*, IV., 124.

The historian Tytler has found in the State Papers a note from Walsingham, which lets out the ignoble secret :

"I send you herewith enclosed another letter, written from the King of Spain unto some noblemen within this realm, which was delivered unto me by her Majesty, together with the other letter of Don Bernardino remaining in your hands, which, if it may be deciphered, will I hope, lay open the treachery that reigneth here amongst us."—*Tytler, app. iv.* ; 334, *note.*

In reference to the action brought against Destrappes at the same time as Mary Stuart's trial, one of the gentlemen, "de Bellièvre," wrote to Villeroy :

"Et avoyent, ces beaux conseillers d'Angleterre, forgé, falsifié et composé toutes telles escriptures qu'ilz avoyent voullu, sur ce faict

"And those fine councillors of England had forged, perverted and composed all such writings as they had wished, regarding the fact

par eux inventé et projecté ; car il faut noter que jamais ne produisent les mesmes pièces originaux de procédures signées des parties, mais seulement des coppies, ès-quelles ilz adjoustent et diminuent ce qu'il leur plaist et leur sert en *leurs inventions ordinaires*."—*Teulet*, IV., 147.

invented and planned by them ; for it must be noted that they never produce the original documents of the proceedings, but only copies, which they increase or diminish according as they please or as it suits their usual inventions."

The cotemporary historian Eytzinger says also :

"*Litteras more suo fictas proferunt quas sola possunt auctoritate confirmare.*"—*MS.*, 91.

"They present letters which they have forged according to their wont, and which they can attest by their own authority alone."

Thence I draw these conclusions—First, those words prove that the ministers were old offenders ; therefore the letter to Babington with its incoherencies is much to be suspected. Secondly, in the Destrappes affair, the ministers intended to make

"tumber et renverser le tout sur le col de la pauvre misérable princesse,"

"the whole blame rest on the poor wretched princess,"

as is acknowledged by the ambassador of France (*Teulet*, IV., 148) to the ambassador of Spain (*Teulet*, V., 466), and by the Master of Gray himself (*Gray's Papers*, 131) ; therefore the share that Mary had in the Babington Conspiracy was not sufficient in the minds of the ministers to deserve death, seeing that they had to invent a new conspiracy to ruin her. (*Cf. Teulet*, V., 466.)

Thirdly, since Mary denied having conceived the project of killing Elizabeth, the original, or at least an authentic copy, of her reply ought to have been shown her. People had no right to condemn her without convicting her, and it was not possible to convict her save by her own words. It was in vain to allege Babington's confession ; the rash young man was dead, and any words could be put into his mouth, as had been done for Edmonston, eighteen months before, in Edinburgh. Since to confront them was impossible, and since the articles in evidence were in the hands of the accusers, why did they show the originals of the other letters, and a copy only of the most important of all ?

"All the other letters of Curle, Morgan, Nau, Gifford and others, in these intricate doings, have been preserved, and generally with the decipher ; but this letter, the most important of all, on which, indeed, the whole question turned, is a copy."—*Tytler*, IV., 126.

Why, for want of other means, not have called Phelipps to bear witness, on his oath and before Mary, that the copy was the exact reproduction of the cypher ? The answer is easily found ; an explanation would have brought to the ground the frail scaffolding, and according to the figurative language of Phelipps, people would have

seen "how the wind got through." (*Lingard*.) Therefore, nothing proves that the letter was such as the copy makes it out for us.

Fourthly, in the letter we read :

"les plaintes (des catholiques) pourront servir fort à propos pour fonder et establir une association et confédération générale entre vous tous, comme pour vostre juste deffense et conservation de vostre religion, vies, terres et possessions, contre l'oppression et entreprises desdits puritains, sans rien toucher directement par escript, rien qui puisse estre au préjudice de la Royne ; à la préservation de la quelle et de ses légitimes héritiers (ne faisant toutesfois en ce point aucune mention de moy) vous ferez plustost semblant d'estre très affectionnez. Ces choses estant ainsy préparées, et les forces, tant dedans que dehors le royaume, toutes prestes, il faudra [alors mettre les six gentilshomme en besogne et] donner ordre que [leur desseing estant effectué] je puisse quant et quant, estre tirée hors d'icy, et que toutes voz forces soynt en ung mesmes temps en campagne pour me recevoir pendant qu'on attendra le secours estranger, qu'il faudra alors haster en toute dilligence. [Or, d'autant qu'on ne peust constituer ung jour préfix pour l'accomplissement de ce que les dicts gentilshommes ont entrepris, je voudrois qu'ils eussent tousjours auprès d'eulx, ou pour le moins en cour, quatre vaillans hommes bien montés pour donner advis en toute dilligence du succes dudict desseing, aussytost qu'il sera effectué, à ceulx qui auront charge de me tirer hors d'icy, afin de s'y pouvoir transporter avant que mon gardien soyt adverty de ladicte exécution, ou, à tout le moins, avant qu'il ayt le loisir de se fortifier dedans la maison, ou de me transporter ailleurs. Il seroy nécessaire qu'on envoyast deux ou trois de ces dicts aversisseurs par divers chemins, afin que, l'ung venant à faillir, l'autre puisse passer oultre ; et il faudroyt en un mesme instant essayer d'empescher les passages ordinaires aux postes et aux courriers.]"

"C'est le project que je trouve le plus à propos pour ceste entreprinse, afin de la conduire avecq esgards de nostre propre seureté. De s'esmouvoir de ce costé devant que vous soyez asseurés d'ung bon secours estranger, ne seroyt que vous mettre, sans aucun propos, en dangier de participer à la misérable fortune d'autres qui ont par cydevant entrepris sur ce sujet ; et de me tirer hors d'icy sans estre

"the complaints (of the Catholics) may serve you very suitably to found and establish an association and general confederation between you all, for your just defence and the preservation of your religion, lives, lands and possessions, against the oppression and undertakings of the said Puritans, without mentioning anything directly in writing, anything which could be to the prejudice of the Queen ; in the preservation of whom and of whose heirs (making however no mention of me on that point) you will rather pretend to be much interested. Matters being so arranged, and the forces, both within and without the kingdom, quite ready, it will be necessary [then to set six gentlemen to work and] give orders that [their design being effected] I may at once be drawn from here, and that all your forces be at one time in the field to receive me while waiting for foreign aid, which it will then be necessary to hurry on. [Now, in as much as one cannot fix a certain day for the carrying out of what the said gentlemen have undertaken, I should like them to have always ready beside them, or at least in the yard, four brave men well mounted to give advice in all haste of the success of the said design as soon as carried out, to those whose duty it will be to get me out of here, in order that they may come hither before my keeper be warned of the said plan being carried out, or, at least before he have time to strengthen himself in the house or take me elsewhere. It would be necessary to send two or three of those messengers by different routes, so that, should one fail, the other may get through ; and it would be necessary to try to stop at the same time the usual passages for posting and couriers.]"

"That is the project that I find most suited for that undertaking, in order to conduct it with regard for our own safety. To move in that direction before you are assured of good foreign help would be only to place yourselves, without any reason, in danger of sharing the wretched fortune of others who have before undertaken a similar object ; and to take me from here without being first certain that you could place me in the middle of a good army, or in some place of safety, until our forces were gathered and the foreigners arrived, would be

premièrement bien assurez de me pouvoir mettre au milieu d'une bonne armée ou en quelque lieu de seureté, jusques à ce que voz forces fussent assemblées et les estrangiers arrivés, ne seroyt que donner assés d'occasion à ceste Royne là si elle me prenoyt de rechef, de m'enclorre en quelque fossé d'où je ne pourrois jamais sortir, si pour le moins j'en pouvois eschaper à ce prix-là, et de persécuter avecq toute extrémité ceulx qui m'auroynt assisté, dont j'auroys plus de regret que d'adversité quelconque qui me pourroyt eschoir à moy mesmes."—*Prince Labanoff*, VI., 388-390.

only affording that Queen sufficient grounds, if she caught me again, to shut me up in some dungeon out of which I could never get, if even I could escape at that price, and to persecute to the bitter end those who helped me, which would grieve me more than any mishap that might befall me."

People wonder how Elizabeth could seize her, seeing that she was to be put to death, and that in the terms themselves of the letter, the attempt at escape was to take place only after "*le desseing*," that is to say, the murder "*estant effectué*." There is a clear contradiction, which the rest of the letter confirms. The last reflection of Mary : "c'est le project que je trouve le plus à propos," is evidently out of place. What is that project? According to the text of the letter, it would be the murder. The sentence following clearly shows that such is not the question :

"De s'esmouvoir, etc., ne seroyt que vous mettre en danger de participer à la misérable fortune d'autres *qui ont par cy devant entrepris sur ce sujet*."

"To move, etc., would be only to place yourselves in danger of sharing the wretched fortune of others who have before undertaken a similar object."

No person had before then leagued to kill Elizabeth, many, on the contrary, had risen "*esmus*," in the north especially. The question then is only of an insurrection coinciding with the invasion.

Leaving out then the work of the forger, Mary's sentence reads thus :

"Les choses estant ainsy préparées, et les forces, tant dedans que dehors le royaume, toutes prestes, il faudra donner ordre que je puisse, quant et quant, estre tiré hors d'icy, et que toutes voz forces soynt en ung mesmes temps en campagne pour me recevoir pendant qu'on attendra le secours estrangier, qu'il faudra alors haster en toute dilligence."

"C'est le project que je trouve le plus à propos pour ceste entreprinse, afin de la conduire avecq esgard de nostre propre seureté. De s'esmouvoir de ce costé devant que vous soyez assurés d'ung bon secours estrangier, ne seroyt que vous mettre, sans aucun propos, en danger de participer à la misérable fortune d'autres qui ont par cy devant entrepris sur

"Matters being so arranged, and the forces both within and without the kingdom, quite ready, it will be necessary to give orders that I may at once be drawn from here and that all your forces be at one time in the field to receive me, while waiting for foreign aid, which it will then be necessary to hurry on."

"That is the project that I find most suited for that undertaking, in order to conduct it with regard for our own safety. To move in that direction before you are assured of good foreign help would be only to place yourselves without any reason, in danger of sharing the wretched fortune of others who have before undertaken a similar object ; and to take me from here without being first certain that you

ce sujet ; et de me tirer hors d'icy sans estre premièrement bien asseurez de me pouvoir mettre au milieu d'une bonne armée, ou en quelque lieu de seureté, jusques à ce que noz forces fussent assemblées et les estrangiers arrivées, ne seroyt que donner assés d'occasion à ceste Royne là, si elle me prenoyt de rechef, de m'enclorre en quelque fossé d'où je ne pourrois jamais sortir, si pour le moins j'en pouvois eschaper à ce prix là, etc."

could place me in the middle of a good army, or in some place of safety, until our forces were gathered and the foreigners arrived, would be only affording that Queen sufficient grounds, if she caught me again, to shut me up in some dungeon out of which I could never get, if even I could escape at that price, &c."

The ideas which the hand of the forger had disconnected, and put in contradiction, resume their natural connection. A letter from Burghley, printed in the collection of Henry Ellis, giving an account of Mary Stuart's attitude, confirms what I have advanced.

"She cold say nothyng but *negatyvely*, that the poynts of the lettres that concerned the practise against the Q. Mat's person *was never by hir wrytten nor of her knolledg*, the rest, for invasion, for scapyng by force, she sayd she *wold nether deny nor affirm*."—*H. Ellis*, I., iii., 12.

The letter, studied logically, already led to that result; nothing better could be wished.

In 1842 Mr Lemon discovered at the State Paper Office a cyphered postscript to Mary's letter, in which she asked Babington for the names of his accomplices, and how they were to act. As the postscript exists, it must have been written by Mary or by a forger; if it is authentic, how is it the letter to Babington was handed to Nau and Curle without it, and that it was never mentioned in Mary Stuart's trial? It was however an overwhelming proof against Mary. In the absence of the minute of the letter which the ministers said was lost, that document which they had in hand was of terrible weight against her. If they did not mention it, that was because they knew its value better than anyone.

Camden says.—

"Ita interceptæ erant illæ priores Reginae Scotorum ad Babingtonum, ejusdem ad illam responsoriæ et alteræ ad eum quibus subdole additum eodem caractere postscriptum ut nomina sex nobilium ederet, si non alia."—III., 439.

"They intercepted the first letters from Mary to Babington, the answers of the latter and the continuation of the correspondence to which was cheatingly added a postscript of the same cypher, that he should give the names of the six gentlemen and perhaps something else."

Such a notorious forgery directly clears the prisoner of the crime imputed to her, for if the original letter contained the particulars we find in the copy, why should the authors of the postscript ask what the letter already contained, "particularly how they proceed?" The letter destroys the postscript—the postscript the letter. It is then fair to

admit that the postscript was struck out as too glaring, and that they put in the body of the letter what could not be added on at the end. That is why the French minute of Nau, the original English cypher of Curle, and the decyphering of that document made at Chartley "disappeared never to be found, while all the other letters which Mary Stuart wrote on the same day are still either at the State Paper Office, or among Cecil's papers." (*Prince Labanoff*, VI. 398).

The question of time also turns against the forgers. On the 17th the letter is given to Gifford; on the 18th he gives it to Powley; on the 20th a copy of it is addressed to Walsingham. On the 26th Phelipps takes the original to London; he gives it on the 26th to Walsingham, and at length, on the 29th, the letter is handed to Babington by an unknown hand. (*Babington to Mary, 3d August, State Paper Office, Mary, Queen of Scots*). Walsingham had therefore in his hands, at one and the same time, the copy and the original, while he had also the necessary time to alter them both.

III.—THE CONFESSIONS OF THE SECRETARIES.

A minute of Phellips, printed in the Hardwicke Papers (I., 236, 237), states that the secretaries, Nau and Curle, confessed, in their last examination, that Mary had really lent a hand in Babington's attempt at the life of Elizabeth, and that the passage relating to the six gentlemen was authentic.

As there remains in the world only that minute of Phelipps, I declare at once that I have no other version to oppose to that of the English agent to give him the lie. Yet: 1st, I am chary of that declaration, because the English ministers, in addition to their forgeries, had said, at the end of August, to the ambassador of France, that Nau and Curle had confessed "more than was wanted," and "that they had acknowledged and confessed all," (*Egerton*, 76, 78), when it is certain that at that time they had confessed nothing; 2dly, I reject it, because it is contrary to the authentic documents.

Until the 1st of September, the secretaries confessed nothing that could compromise their mistress. On the 2d, they were examined, but their confessions were confined to acknowledging that Curle had translated into English, and put in cypher, three French letters, which Nau had, in obedience to Mary's orders, written to Babington.

Those confessions were judged of so little importance, that on the 4th of September, the ministerial clique, not knowing how to wring the truth from the secretaries, bethought itself of several means.

According to Burghley, they ought to be reassured as to their own fate :

"Assure them of safety," wrote the Minister to Christ. Hatton, "and then we shall have the whole truth from them. . . . They will yield in writing somewhat to confirm their mistress's crime, if they were persuaded that themselves might scape, and the blow fall upon their mistress, betwixt her head and her shoulders."—*Tytler*.

Walsingham was of that opinion, and carrying generosity further, he said of Curle :

"I took upon me to put him in comfort of favour, in case he would deal plainly."—*Idem*.

According to Phelipps, on the contrary, the secretaries ought to be told that they deserved to be hanged as accomplices in the Babington attempt, and ought to be driven through fear, to accuse their Queen. It is with that object in view that he drew up his "Extract of the points contained in the minutes, written by Nau and Curle, arguing their privity, to the enterprise of the Catholics and to their mistress's plot." In that extract taken from the originals, are found the chief particulars concerning the Spanish invasion and Mary's project of flight, and, strange to say, not a word about the murder. Phelipps needed to get up a second work to bring in the secretaries.

"This paper," says Tytler, very properly, "appears to me, from its admissions and omissions, to be almost conclusive in establishing the innocence of Mary."—IV., 337.

On the 5th and 6th of September, the letters to Babington were presented to the secretaries separately. The first two were recognised without hesitation, but in reference to that of the 17th of July, their language was strangely timid.

Babington, examined previously to them, had written :

"C'est la copie des lettres de la Roynne d'Escosse dernièrement à moy envoyées."

"It is the copy of the letters of the Queen of Scots, lately sent to me."

Nau said merely :

"Je pense de vray que c'est la lettre escripte par sa Majesté à Babington, comme il me souvient."

"I think, in truth, that it is the letter written by her Majesty to Babington, as far as I can remember."

And Curle :

"Telle ou semblable me semble avoir esté la response."

"Such, or something like it, seems to me to have been the reply."

Those proofs again seemed so weak to the ministers, that instead of remaining satisfied with them, they went on seeking other confessions, and thus greatly injured their case.

"I thynk Curle will be more oppen, and yet Nau hath amply confessed, by his hand wrytyng, to have wrytten by the Queen's endyting and hir own minut yt long lettre to Babyngton."—Burghley to Walsingham, *Ellis*, I., iii., 5.

The same minister, again, tells us that

"Nau offred, on Tewsdai, to have oppened much, and in stead therof, he hath only wrytten to have a pardon as yesterday, because it was the Queen's byrth day."—Ellis I. ii. 5.

Despairing of getting anything further, the ministers sounded in the ears of the secretaries, the threat of the Tower. That dreadful prospect drove Nau to write to Elizabeth. In his note, the secretary swears to God to tell the truth; he describes, at great length, the impression made upon the Queen when reading Babington's letter; her displeasure, and her wish to get free by the help of a foreign invasion, but, adds the secretary:

"*sans se mesler aucunement du troisieme point* (the assassination); ne s'estimant, es termes où elle se croyoit, estre obligée de le reveller, n'estant chose par elle onques *desirée, inventée, ni pratiquée*."—*Prince Labanoff*.

"without meddling, in any way, with the third point; thinking that in her position towards Elizabeth, she was not obliged to reveal a conspiracy which she had neither desired, thought of, proposed nor carried out."

That declaration, made willingly to the Queen of England herself, destroys the importance which might be attached to the signature affixed to the letter of the 6th of September, and clearly shows that the secretaries, in their postscript, did not mean to speak of the murder. The ministers knew that very well; for while noising abroad that the secretaries had confessed and acknowledged everything, they endeavoured to wring from them some false testimony. Walsingham wrote to Curle:

"You do forget the favour you have received by my mediation that, which you have confessed is no more that, which you saw no reason to deny, when you found yourself charged by your fellow, Naue."

They encouraged him to be more open, so that he might deserve the good graces of Elizabeth. Walsingham to Curle (without date) September, *State Paper Office; Mary, Queen of Scots*.

The day after Babington's death, the secretaries were brought before the Council; an extract, giving the principal points of the letters, was read to them, and if we are to believe the minute of Phelipps, they acknowledged all those points. Lingard says it is doubtful whether they included in those answers the passages relating to the murder (III., 15); perhaps, also, the minute was corrected afterwards; it is certain, however, that it contains an error of fact which the secretaries could not have made. Nau constantly affirmed that he had written the letter on a minute of the Queen, and Walsingham had that minute sought for. How is it that, in the examination of the 21st, Nau declares that he heard, *from the Queen's mouth*, the chief points of the

letter to Babington : either Phelipps' account is false, or Nau no longer knew what he was saying.

If, moreover, the secretaries had confessed the thing so clearly, they would most likely have been confronted with Mary, at the Fotheringay trial. Why was it not so ? Why did the ministers then quote only the last examination, of which they were the only witnesses, without taking into account the previous denials of the secretaries, and without making them confirm in public, those last concessions ? It cannot be denied that there is something decidedly suspicious in the affair.

Brought up at Westminster, only on the 25th of October, the secretaries adhered to their previous confessions, but at the same time they gave a strong denial to the minute of Phelipps when they asserted, despite Walsingham's threats, that the chief counts of the indictment charging their mistress were "false, slanderous, and made up," declaring that the commissioners should have to answer before God and the Christian Princes if they condemned, on charges so false, a Sovereign Queen, and calling upon them to register their reply. (*Nau, Apology addressed to James VI., quoted in Lingard, III., 26, note; Miss Strickland, V., 443, note, analysed briefly in Camden, III., 465.*)

Curle died protesting the Queen's innocence. (*Lingard and Miss Strickland, loc. cit.*) Nau lived only to assert it before the world ; and in 1605 he appealed, for the truth of his declaration, to the remembrance of all the lords and gentlemen who were then alive and had been present at his examination. (*Nau's Apology.*)

If, in truth, the secretaries had spoken otherwise before the judges, it would follow that they must have contradicted themselves, and that if their evidence was to be taken into account, that which they expressed freely was alone to be considered. We have not a line in the handwriting of the secretaries against Mary Stuart : all that they have left us is favourable to her. Their enemies pretend that they charged her : I have shown that the testimony of the ministers was doubtful on the whole and false on one capital point. One thing is proved : that Nau wrote to Elizabeth that Mary Stuart was innocent, and that he said the same all his life, and that Curle at his death expressed the same feeling. Doubtful testimony is of no avail against certainty.

From Mary's feelings towards Elizabeth, from the falseness of the documents produced, and from the confessions of the secretaries, I conclude that Mary is innocent.

PROOFS.

I.

PRINCIPAL GRIEVANCES WHICH WEIGHED ON THE CATHOLICS OF ENGLAND.

Extract from the Remonstrance au Roy d'Angleterre, 1628.

"Tout catholique doit prester serment que la Reyne, ses heritiers et successeurs sont chefs de l'Eglise, et à faute de prester ce serment sont declarez criminels de leze Majesté.

"Tous ceux qui n'assisteront aux Eglises des Protestans payeront dix sols tous les Dimanches qu'ils y manqueront.

"Tous ceux qui demeureront des mois entiers sans aller aus-dites Eglises protestantes payeront au Roy pour chaque mois deux cens liures, et au cas qu'ils n'ayent point de reuenu suffisant pour payer ladite somme, ou qu'ils ne la payent point au terme préfix, le Roy prendra les deux tiers du reuenu des terres de tels Catholiques et tous leurs bien meubles, et au cas aussi que les deux tiers du reuenu des terres desdits Catholiques montent plus que la somme de deux cens liures par mois, le Roy conuertira cela a son profit si bon luy semble, et ne se contentera point desdites deux cens liures par mois.

"Tous ceux qui n'yront point à l'Eglise protestante par l'espace d'un an seront obligez avec caution de payer la somme de deux mil liures, en se comportans comme ils doiuent, c'est à dire, pourueu qu'ils n'entendent point la Messe, ny ne facent aucun exercice de la Religion catholique. Car ce faisant les-dits deux cens liures sont confisquez au Roy et doiuent deux fois l'année renoueler leur obligation.

"Tous ceux qui entendront la Messe payeront au Roy pour chaque fois six cens soixante et trois liures.

"Tous ceux qui auront chez eux des Maistres pour instruire leurs enfans lesquels n'yront point à l'Eglise protestante payeront cent liures par mois pour eux et autant pour chacun desdits maistres, lesquels sont déclarez incapables d'instruire cy-après et à tout jamais des enfans, et seront detenus prisonniers l'espace d'un an.

"Deffences sont faites à tout maistre d'Eschole de demeurer chez aucuns catholiques, et à ceux-cy de les admettre en leurs maisons, sous peine de payer au Roy vingt liures par jour pour eux et lesdits maistres.

"Tous ceux de qui les biens seront confisquez, et qui n'auront point de quoy satisfaire aux payemens portez par l'Edict seront constituez prisonniers.

"Tous ceux qui se feront Prestres de delà la Mer, et qui retourneront puis après dans le Royaume d'Angleterre seront traictez comme criminels de leze Majesté.

"Tous ceux qui reçoient tels Prestres chez eux, qui leur administrent des viures, ou qui par charité leur donnent aucun secours seront declarez attaints du crime de felonnie et seront mis à mort; tous leurs biens acquis et confisquez au profit du Roy.

"Tous ceux qui orront (entendront) quelqu'un en confession, ou qui se seront eux mesmes reconciliez, et qui persuaderont à un protestant d'embrasser la Religion catholique seront criminels de leze Majesté.

"Tous contracts, alienations et ventes de terres et heritages des Catholiques pour empescher et preuenir les confiscations portées par les Loix desusdites, soit directement ou indirectement seront nuls, inualides et sans que les Catholiques en puissent espérer aucune chose à leur profit.

"Tous Catholiques se doivent contenir chez eux, et ne s'en esloigner plus de deux lieues et demie, sous peine de confiscation de leurs biens meubles et perte du reuenu de leurs terres leur vie durant.

"Tous ceux qui n'ont pas beaucoup à perdre doivent vider le Royaume, ce que ne faisons point, ou qu'ils retournent après sans permission expresse, seront iugez criminels et perdront la vie.

"Tous ceux qui retiennent chez eux à leur service aucuns qui n'aillent point à l'Eglise protestante, payeront au Roy mil liures par chaque mois.

"Quiconque descourra vn Catholique, ou decelera quelque chose qu'il ait faite contre les susdites Loix, encore qu'il fust luy mesme coupable, si est-ce que comme délateur il luy sera pardonné, et aura pour recompense sur les biens confisquez la somme de deux cens liures, et au cas que les biens confisqués soient de peu de valeur, il aura la tierce partie de tout le bien confisqué.

"Nul de la Religion catholique ne sera admis à aucune charge que ce soit dans le Royaume, ni mesme ceux qui ne sont point Catholiques, si leurs femmes ou leurs enfants le sont.

"Nul Catholique ne sera Séneschal, Aduocat, Greffier, ny Officier aux Cours particulières, ny ne sera non plus Medecin, ny Apoticaire, ny Capitaine, Lieutenant ou Caporal.

"Nul Catholique estant Seig. de fief; et ayant droit de patronage pour présenter aux Benefices ne le pourra faire: mais les Euesques seulement.

"Nul Catholique ne peut estre executeur ny administrateur du testament d'autrui ny tuteur des pupiles.

"Toutes armes doivent estre ostées aux Catholiques.

"Tous liures Catholiques, Reliques, Images et Chapelets ne doivent estre permis aux Catholiques.

"Toutes les maisons des Catholiques peuuent estre fouillées par deux Juges ordinaires, ou par les Preuosts, ou autres officiers toutes et quantes fois qu'il leur plaira pour faire recherche des Prestres, et se saisir de la personne des Catholiques, lesdits officiers pouuans rompre les portes et appeler le secours de peuple en cas de resistance.

"Chaque Catholique est tenu pour excommunié, et ne luy permis de poursuiure aucun procès pour debtes, iniures, ou autres choses.

"Toutes les cours Ecclesiastiques ont pouuoir de proceder contre les Catholiques comme elles auoient autresfois contre les Hérétiques.

"Nul Catholique ne sera enterré dans les Eglises ou cimetières à cause qu'il est excommunié sous peine des censures Ecclesiastiques contre tous les assistans, et si l'on enterre le corps ailleurs ceux qui le feront faire payeront au Roy deux cens liures."

Extract from a letter of Cervin, written from London in 1581, to Alphonso Agazar, Superior of the English College, Rome.

"Je n'aurois jamais fait, si j'entreprendois de vous raconter le zèle et l'ardeur des Catholiques. Quand un Prêtre les vient voir, ils le saluent comme un étranger et un inconnu; après, ils le mènent dans quelque lieu retiré où ils ont placé leur oratoire; là, ils se jettent humblement à genoux et reçoivent sa bénédiction. Ils luy demandent ensuite combien il demeurera parmi eux, car ils voudroient qu'il ne les quittât jamais. S'il leur dit qu'il ne peut demeurer que jusques au lendemain, parce qu'un plus long séjour pourroit être dangereux, ils se confessent dès le soir même, et le lendemain après avoir entendu la Messe, ils recoivent l'Eucharistie. Le sermon fini le Prêtre leur donne encore la bénédiction, puis il se retire, et pour l'ordinaire plusieurs jeunes gentilshommes l'accompagnent. Tous les Catholiques aussi bien que les premiers Chrétiens, ont des caches secrettes où les Prêtres se peuvent dérober à la recherche et à la violence des Archers, mais enfin, avec le temps et par la trahison de quelques faux frères, elles ont été presque toutes découvertes. Aux attaques de nuit, les fidèles s'enfuient dans les forêts et dans les cavernes. Quelquefois, lorsque nous sommes à table, où selon notre coutume nous nous entretenons des affaires de la foy et du salut, s'il arrive que l'on heurte à la porte assez rudement pour faire croire que ce sont des Archers, chacun prête aussitôt l'oreille, comme le

cerf qui a entendu la voix du chasseur; on se recommande à Dieu; on ne mange plus; on n'entend pas le moindre bruit jusqu'à ce que les domestiques aient rapporté ce que c'est. S'il n'y a rien à craindre, cette vaine frayeur augmente encore notre joie: certainement, c'est de nous que l'on peut dire, que nos âmes sont toujours dans nos mains. . . .

"Notre ami Poundus a été arrêté à Londres et y est gardé dans un cachot pour avoir parlé trop librement contre les ministres et les avoir défiés d'entrer en conférence avec des prêtres Catholiques; ce que irrite étrangement nos adversaires. Il est couché à terre dans un cachot où le jour n'entre point, on l'a même chargé de chaînes; cependant par adresse, ces jours passez, il me fit tenir une lettre aussi gaye que s'il étoit au milieu des divertissemens. Par la même voye que j'avois reçu sa lettre, je luy envoyay la sainte Eucharistie qu'il me demandoit. Le prêtre dont je me servis pour ce pieux office n'ayant pas suivi exactement les ordres de Poundus pour s'introduire dans la prison fut decouvert et arrêté, depuis il s'est échappé par une espèce de miracle.

"L'Evêque de Lincoln, l'Abbé de Westminster et quelques autres, après avoir souffert à Londres une prison de plusieurs années, sont maintenant enfermés au même lieu que Poundus; l'on doit les transférer au château de Visbic lieu fort mal sain, et en confier la garde à un Puritain brutal: l'incommodité de la prison et les mauvais traitemens de ce barbare consumeront bientôt le reste des forces de ces venerables vieillards. Hormis la Bible, on leur a ôté toutes sortes de livres, jusqu'à leurs écrits et leurs propres remarques. Des ministres insolens vont quelquefois les surprendre et les couvrir d'injures; ils en publient après des fables ridicules qu'ils font même imprimer dans leurs livres, pour diminuer la réputation de ces saints personnages, qui est fort grande dans l'esprit des peuples. Le mois passé l'on enferma à leur insçu une femme impudique dans leur prison, afin que l'on parlât mal de leur continence."

II.

DID MARY STUART RECEIVE THE SACRAMENT BEFORE HER DEATH?

Likely, for in her letter to the Pope, she says that she should have liked to receive "*ses ditz sacrements*," and in that which she wrote to her almoner, she also speaks of "*recevoir son sacrement*." (*Prince Labanoff*, VI., 451, 483).

Mendoça says that the King of France assured him :

"Este Rey afirma haverse comulgado aquella noche, por haver alcançado licencia di Su Santidad, años ha, para poder entretener cerca de si el Santissimo Sacramento, y hallarse clerigo con ella."—Mendoça to Philip II.—*Teulet; Supplém. au Prince Labanoff*, 377, and V., 490.

Hilarion de Coste, whose relations with Rome must have procured for him positive information, writes :

"Le iour de son martyre, elle se communia : car ne luy estant pas permis de voir son Aumosnier ou son confesseur, et par conséquent se voyant priuée de l'usage des Sacremens, elle auoit obtenu du Pape Pie V. de Sainte mémoire, par vn special priuilege de se communier soy-mesme, afin de n'estre pas priuée de se salutaire Viatique : et sous main on luy faisoit tenir des boîtes pleines d'Hosties consacrées."—*Eloges des Dames Illustres*, II., 520.

Brantôme (*Discours sur Marie Stuart, and Jebb*, II., 489), and Conn. (*Ibid.* 41), &c., relate the same fact as a certainty, and do not seem to suppose there can be any doubt about it. I have followed that opinion, though the contrary be not unlikely.

III.

CAUSES OF THE DEATH OF MARY STUART.

In reference to the condemnation of Mary Stuart, Puffendorf makes the following reflection :—

“ Il y eut beaucoup d'irrégularités dans cette procédure ; premièrement en ce qu'on avoit déjà fait mourir trois hommes, sur le temoignage des quels on prétendoit convaincre la Reine : secondement en ce qu'on ne lui confronta jamais ses secrétaires qui étaient en vie. Comme il n'était pas possible de prouver qu'elle eut eu part à la dernière conjuration, on l'accusa sur d'autres griefs, qui, cependant, n'étoient pas capables de la faire condamner. *Mais il y avoit longtemps que sa mort étoit résolue.*”—*Introduction à l'Histoire*, III., 241.

To clear Elizabeth only two reasons can be brought forward :—

1st. Mary Stuart was constantly endangering her government which the partisans of the Queen of Scots tried several times to overthrow for the good of their mistress ; their zeal went so far as to form conspiracies without the consent even of her for whom they acted. There was only one way to end those ever-recurring attempts, and that was to put to death, guiltless or guilty, her who was the cause of them. That idea inspired the act of Association.

That reason, however, is not admissible, because Mary had offered Elizabeth serious guarantees, such as even to withdraw to France and there live peacefully on her dowry. Elizabeth refused all the advances made to her. By the dogged stubbornness of her pretensions, she drove the partisans of that unhappy Queen to extreme measures ; injustice begot conspiracies.

2^{dly}. The Government and the English people, knowing Mary's zeal for Catholicism, and her settled purpose of bringing back, by fair means or foul, the old faith to the island, feared again to belong to a creed of which Mary Tudor had shown them only the rigours.

“ If the inheritaunce of the kingdome shall come vnto her, who doubteth that there will follow a greate innovation in the comonwealth of England, and a lamentable overthrow of religion. And they who shall persever in the confession of true godlines the best refuge that they can have is to be accounted infamous, wandering with their children, full of calamitie, in the end to be starved through want of which miseries there have been sorrowfull instructiones while Queen Maria reigned.”—*A Politick Disputatione, University of Edinburgh, a copy*, 2.

Thence arose that lurking hatred against Mary Stuart—thence that thirst for her blood. The majority of the English did not think themselves cruel, but just, when asking that one person alone should be sacrificed to make safe the general peace. Elizabeth made that instinct of preservation on the part of her people, as it were, the mainspring of

her policy; what in the people was a conviction, in Elizabeth was a calculation; in both, a necessity.

The massacre of St Bartholomew showed the true state of matters. Though it was evident that the Queen of Scots could not be aware of a thing plotted in darkness, and so secretly that even those familiar with the Court knew nothing about it, people in England flew to the greatest excesses; she was preached against, and her death was publicly asked for; there was a talk of holding a Parliament to bring that about; Killigrew was sent to Scotland to negotiate her death. Presbyterian Scotland sided with England against Mary, and what was her crime? Her religion, which her rank and her birth caused to be dreaded. (*Philartète Chasles, Marie Stuart*, 76.)

The rage of Sandys, Bishop of London, threw that of all others into the shade; he proposed among other things:

“to cutte of the Scottish Quenes heade: ipsa est nostri fundi calamitas.”

And again:

“The protestants which onlie are faithfull subjectes are to be comforted, preferred, and placed in autoritie, the Papistes to be displaced. Theese put in execution, wold twrne to Goddes glory the saftie of the Quene’s Ma^{tie} and make the Realme florishe and stande.”—*Ellis*, II., iii., 25.

That blind rage against the Catholics, and against Mary in particular, made the Countess of Northumberland say:

“Audebunt, nisi citissime provideatur, in ejus corpus scœvire, cujus famam tot libellis jam lacerarunt.”—*Teulet*, II., 441.

The loud and deep cry for Mary’s blood is clearly to be seen in the “Disputation” quoted above. In that document, to all appearances written by Buchanan himself immediately after the massacre of the 24th of August 1572, Mary Stuart’s death is asked for in the name of religion, in very clear terms:

“Notwithstandinge there is in this cause a consideration and circumstance of that consequence as cannot be found in any other example, which prohibiteth the Queen (Elizabeth) to use mercie, because it is joined to the manifest contempt of God; for it is no slight conspiracie that is cauled in question which should effect a chainge onlie of the state but that which would whollie overthrow the state of religion, in which cause princes cannot pardon injuries attempted towards God and accordinge to their pleasure remitt as light matters those hainous attempts which tend to the subversion of their kingdome, vnles they will hazard their own heades for other men’s sinnes, altho’ they may in their proper greife be as mylde and as gentle as they will, and neglect the saftie and tranquillitie of the people committed to them by God. For who is so blinde that he doth not evydentlie see if Steward’s endeour were not made frustrate that thorowout England had ensued a horrible subversion of religion, which the confederacie of the Kinge of Spaine, and Duke d’Alba with the Pope manifestlie declare.” . . .

“Infinite discommodities follow want of punishment, to witt, just revenge and punishment is denied to the subjects crauing it, the saftie of the people is neglected, and (what is more

greuous) the defence of the Church of God is left desolate and unfaithfullie forsaken."—*A Politick Disputatione*, 23, 31.

We gather from that passage, that in 1572, Mary was to be *punished*, because religion had to face dangers through her.

The prisoner knew well how she was hated by the Scottish Presbyterians and the English Puritans; she was prepared for anything at their hands, and she had sooner meet death than forsake her favourite idea. On the 3d of August 1577, Mary wrote to Doctor Allen:

"There is no particuler joye nor restitution nor advancement on earth that I desire, saveinge onely the relief of the Catholique Church and fortitude thereof, to the universall flourishinge and restablishment of her faith and religion, but specially in this pore isle. To which ende if it shall please him to make me serve in any thinge, I doe even now, as I have longe afore, dedicate and abandon my life in a thowsand mo tormentes, and all I can have in this world thereunto, wishing no greater felicitye and consolation then in that quarrell, to leave the miseryes of this wretched vail."—*Prince Labanoff*, IV., 376.

The sentence bears that Mary Stuart, because she continually endangered Elizabeth and her subjects, is condemned to death,

"as well for the cause of the Gospel and true religion of Christ, as for the peace of the whole Realme."—*Febb*, 340.

Walsingham writing, by order of Elizabeth, to Paulet, to dispatch the Queen of Scots, gives two reasons: 1st, the danger that Elizabeth runs, so long as the said Queen Mary shall live; 2dly, the preservation of religion. He does not say that Mary was found guilty, but that Elizabeth was in great peril of her life, so long as Queen Mary should be in this world.—*Febb*, 407; *Mackenzie*, III., 340.

Kent, who told the prisoner her sentence, uttered a word, which is a gleam of light, when he said to her:

"Tua vita exitium erit nostræ religionis, ut contra tuum exitium ejusdem erit vita."—*Camden*, 490.

Mary Stuart congratulated herself, with good reason, on the violence of the Earl, and answered that he brought her good news.

She sent a ring to Philip II.,

"por gaje de que moria por la religion Catholica Romana."—*Teulet, Supplément au Prince Labanoff*, 390.

Catholic Europe looked upon her as a martyr. That name was given her in Rome and in Paris, and it is cause of wonder when we see the courtier, Brantôme, of the same opinion as Cardinals du Perron and Bellarmine, and the historian, Eytzinger, going beyond them all, and boldly exclaiming:

"Interfecerunt Sanctam Dei."—*MS.*, 96;
Hilarion de Coste, II., 523.

"They have killed the Saint of God."

Many Catholics were condemned to the gibbet for trying to break open her tomb to get relics (*Sixtus V., MS. Papers, 18 verso, a copy*). At Antwerp, the following inscription was placed in the Cathedral :

ANNO MDLXVIII.
IN. ANG. RESVG. RELIGIONIS CAUSA QUÆRENS
COGN. ELISAB. IVSSV. ET SENAT. HÆRET
INVIDIA
POST XIX CAPTIVIT. ANNOS.
CAPITE OBTRVNE
MARTYRIUM CONSVMAVIT
ANNO DOM. MDLXXXVII
ÆTAT. ET. REG. XLV.

"It seems to me," says Prince Labanoff, "that such ought still to be the opinion of every impartial historian, and I am happy to find it again in the learned continuation of the History of England, by Mackintosh. This is how the author expresses himself on the subject."—Vol. III., 328. "The great operating cause of the execution of the Queen of Scots, in the mind of Elizabeth's Council, was, doubtless, the security of the established religion, and Protestant succession to the throne."—*Prince Labanoff, VI., 496.*

IV.

JAMES VI. AND MARY STUART.

I do not examine here what were the relations between James VI. and Mary. Her son wrote her many letters, some charming, and others more or less wounding to the feelings, according to the time when they were written. As the letters give, in my opinion, the feelings of those around the young King rather than his own, I set no value upon them. It is well known that the poor Prince had no more freedom than his mother had : his tutor treated him shamefully. "A crabbed and wicked old man," says Mr J. Gauthier, "was Buchanan, who beat and insulted his royal pupil, and kept down, by a system of brutal intimidation, his generous yearnings and the signs of his nature." (III., 109). Many historians pretend that the *sophist*, James VI., allowed his mother to be executed, without doing anything to save her, and that he showed less grief after her death, than was becoming in a dutiful son. I do not try to clear James VI ; that would be outside the limits of my subject. I shall quote merely a few texts, which tend to soften the harshness of the account given by those historians.

In October 1586, that Prince wrote to Gray (*Spottiswoode, II., 353*), or to Archibald Douglas :

"Reserve up youre self na langer in the earnist dealing for my Mother, for ye have done it to long ; and thinke not that any youre travellis can do goode, if her lyfe be taikin ; for then adew with my dealing with thaime that are the speciall instrumentis thairrof. And thair fore gif ye looke for the contineuance of my fauoure touartis you, spaire na painis nor plainnes in this case, bot reade my lettir, wrettin to Williame Keith, and conform your selfe quhollie to the contentis thairrof ; and in this requeist, lett me reape the fruitis of youre great credit thaire, ather nou or neuer."—*Ellis*, I., iii., 14.

In November, he wrote to Archibald Douglas :

"I perceyve by your last letters, the Quene, my mother contineweth still in that miserable streyte that the pretended condemnation of that Parliament has putt her in. A strange example in deed, and so very rare, as for my part, I never redd nor heard of the like practise in such a case. I am sorry, that by my expectation, the Quene hath suffered this to procede so farre to my dishonour, and so contrary to her good fame as by subjects mouth to condemne a Sovereigne Prince discended of all hands of the best blood of Europe. . . . I am presentlie upon the directing of a very ambassade thither for the same purpose in which cōmission shalbe one man that the Quene will well like of. . . . Gesse ye in what streyte my honour wilbe in, this unhappe beyng perfected, synce bifore God I already darre skath goo abrode for crieng oute of the whole people, and what ys spoken by them of the Quene of England, yt greves me to heare, and yet darre not fynd faalte with yt except I would dethrone, so ys whole Scotland incensed with this matter. As ye love your Master's honour, omitt no earnest diligence in this request."—*State Paper Office*.

On the 26th of January 1587 he wrote to Elizabeth a letter in which he said :

"Quhat thing, Madame, can greatlier touche me in honoure that bothe (is) a King and a Sonne, then that my nearest neihboure being in straittest freindshippe with me shall rigorously putt to death a free souveraine Prince, and my naturall mother, alyke in estaite and sexe to hir that so uses her, albeit subject I grant to a harder fortune, and touching hir nearlie in proximitie of bloode. Quhat law of Godd can permitt that justice shall strikke upon thaime, quhome he hes appointid supream dispensatouris of the same under him ; quhom he hath callid Goddis, and thairfore subjectid to the censoure of none in earth ; quhose anointing by Godd can not be defyld be man, unreuenged by the authoure thairrof ; quho being supreme and immediatt lieutenant of Godd in Heaven, can not thairfore be judgit by thair æquallis in earth. Quhat monstruouse thinge is it that Souveraigne Princes thaime selfis shoulde be the exemple giveris of thair ouen sacred diademes prophaining. Then quhat shoulde moue you to this forme of proceeding (supponin the uorst, quhiche in goode faith I looke not for at youre handis) honoure or profiteit ? Honoure uaire it to you, to spaire quhen it is least lookid for. Honoure uaire it to you, (quhich is not onlie my freindlie aduyce but my earnist suite) to tak me and all other Princes in Europe eternally beholdin unto you in granting this my so reasonable request ; and not (appardon I pray you my free speaking) to putt Princes to straittis of honoure quhair throuch youre generall reputatione and the universall (all most) mislyking of you, may daingerously perrell both in honoure and utilitie youre persoun and estate."—*Ellis*, I., iii., 20.

Almost at the same date he causes Elizabeth to be told by his ambassador :

"that both in respect of nature and honour, it concerned him to be revenged of so great an indignity."—*Spottiswoode*, II., 350. Cf. *Courcelles' Dispatches*, 28.

After the death of Mary,

"some Scottismen," says Melville, "assured them, that the King hir sonne wald schone forzet it. Albeit, his Maieste when he vnderstode of thir sorowfull newes, tok hauy displeour, and

convenit ane parlement ; wherin he lamented the myshandling of the Quen, be his ennemys that wer in England, desyryng the assistance of his subiectis, to seak to be reuengit."—*Melville's Memoirs*, 356.

"Mr George Young returned on the 23d of this month, and assured his Majesty that his mother was executed. This put his Majesty into a very great displeasure and grief, so that he want to bed that night without supper ; and on the morrow by seven o'clock went to Dalkeith, there to remain solitary."—*Moyses's Memoirs*, 118.

"Retired to Dalketh with very smalle companye greatly greeved with the death of his mother, which he taketh infinitely at heart, as Courcelles is informed. He thinketh the Kinge would not be long from pursuinge the revenge, but that his povertie and estate is every way suche as constraineth him to have patience till God and his good frendis doe give him meanes to doe it."—*Courcelles's Dispatches*, 44.

In certain notes printed among the papers of the Master of Gray, one reads :

"Wonders King James VI. should take so hainously the death of his Mother, as to meditate revenge, being contrary to his interest and wisdom."—*Gray's Papers*, 135.

"[The Secretary]" wrote R. Carvyle to Walsingham, "shoulde write that the Kinge wolde receyve no Embassadour as yet, partly by reason of his hevines and sorowynge for his mother, and also for that he is not resolved that the Quenes Maiestie is so sory for his mother's death, as he was informed she was."—*Gray's Papers*, 143 ; *Ellis*, II., iii., 118.

At the end of 1587 the King of France wrote to Courcelles :

"Le Roi d'Ecosse, mon neveu, porte fort aigrement et non sans raison cette extraordinaire façon de procedure et execution faite contre la feue Reine sa mère, comme il me l'a écrit et fait dire bien amplement par l'évêque de Glasgow, son ambassadeur par deça."—*M. Chéruel*, 172.

V.

WRITINGS AGAINST QUEEN ELIZABETH.

I speak what I believe truly when I say that that last persecution of the English Catholics was due to the indiscretion of their co-religionists on the Continent. Though I have but little esteem for the Virgin Queen, I think she would not have gone so far had she not felt wounded in her honour by pamphlets. Any other person than Elizabeth, were she the gentlest in the world, would have been irritated at less.

When Philip II. was fitting out the Invincible Armada, a Spanish poet exclaimed :

Muger de muchos y de muchos nuera :
O Reyna torpe ! Heina no ; mas loba
Lividinosa y fiera !—*M. Mignet*.

At the same time a short treatise was prepared entitled "Avertisement à la Noblesse et au peuple d'Angleterre et d'Irlande (Anvers 1588)," intended to be hawked about the Island, in which Elizabeth

was called a bastard, the foul offspring of an incestuous intercourse between Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, his own daughter ; a usurper who, not satisfied with seizing upon a throne, claimed besides, the title, profoundly ridiculous in her, of head of the Church ; a bloody persecutrix, surrounded by spies and traitors ; a prostitute, a prey to the most disgusting wantonness ; a debaucher of the youthful nobility of England, and one living unmarried, the better to sate her filthy lust ; the instigatrix of the conspiracies which have desolated Europe, &c. The conclusion was that she must be got rid of at any price.

In the same year there was published at Guillaume Bichon's in Paris, two laments on Mary Stuart. In the first, the poet retraces the life and misfortunes of the unfortunate wife of Francis II., without too much ill-using Elizabeth ; but he fully makes up for it in the second. I take from that ode only two verses to show their bitterness ; there are things which a well-bred reader could not bear :

“ Ta mère, fille de Henry
Qui fut son Père et son Mary
Te fist sa fille et sa germaine,
Ayant d'un chrestien hymené
Le saint honneur contaminé
Par une souileure vilaine.”

And this other :

“ Vne vieille au poël grisonnant,
Au front de rides sillonnant,
Mettre le pied sur la poitrine,
Et le couteau sur le gosier
D'une gent, qui ne sceut ployer
Dessous la puissance Latine !”

He concludes that Elizabeth must be killed ; that the killing of her is a good and honourable deed. This is his last verse :

“ Que creint-on : et qu'est-ce qu'õ creint
D'entreprendre Vn acte si saint ?
Est-ce de perdre cete vie ?
“ Il ne faut craindre de mourir
“ Pour une autre vie acquérir
“ Qui ne peut nous estre rauie.”

Blackwood crowned that work of defamation by his poem : “ De Jezabelis Anglæ parricidio,” of which I give the conclusion.

“ Te nothus imperio spoliat, notha sævior illo
Vivere cognato sanguine pota solet.
Ille patris regno, regno hæc te fraudat auito,
Iniustoque animam dissecat ense tuam.
Sic lepram meretrix insonti sanguine curat,
Sic satiat caneros pasta cruore suos.

Sic parricidiis viuit meretricia proles
 Ultiores scelerum nec putat esse Deos.
 Nec putat incesti pœnas nunc pendere patrem,
 Eius adulteriis crimen abesse rata.
 Qui salua duxit meretricem vxore, penates
 Incestans natæ coniugio patrios.
 Juno Jouis soror et coniux erat : Anna Bolena
 Et spuria Henrici filia, et vxor erat.
 Noluit inferior Junone Bolena videri.
 Sed studet incestu dum superare Jouem,
 Nec patre pruritum veneris contenta marito
 Compescit, fratris scandit at illa thoros,
 Spermate nec fratris tandem satiata recedit,
 Sed corpus mœchis publicat omnigenis,
 Coniugis et patris iusto, cadit ense profanam
 Infernis animam manibus adijciens.
 Te natam neptemque patris scelerata reliquit
 Stuprorum hæredem Jezabel et scelerum.
 Quæ pater in Christum solitus cōmittere, quo non
 Villus cœlitibus tetrrior hostis erat,
 Vt nihil in vita peccarit, criminis instar
 Hoc erit, hoc summum te genuisse nefas.
 Ouum sacrilegi nimis execrabile corui,
 Te pestem patriæ perniciemque tuæ.
 Quæ spem vitæ omnem sanctorum in funere ponis,
 Et bellum cœlis stulta minaris anus.
 Atque insonte litas patri matrique cruore,
 Queis Styga placari credis inepta sacris.
 At Reginæ anima superi lætantur opima
 Perfidia finem quam posuere tuæ.
 Hæc sanctis postrema viris iam meta laborum,
 Vt gestent duro colla soluta iugo.
 Insiidiis turbata tuis Europa quiescet,
 Cui scelerum pœnas impia læna dabis.

 Quidquid erit, dignas impura canicula pœnas
 (Dudleio plagas non remorante) lues.
 Vt nothus imperium cepit virtute Britannum,
 Sic notha flagitiis finiet imperium."

THE END.

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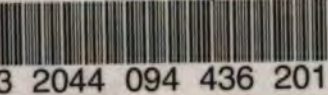
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